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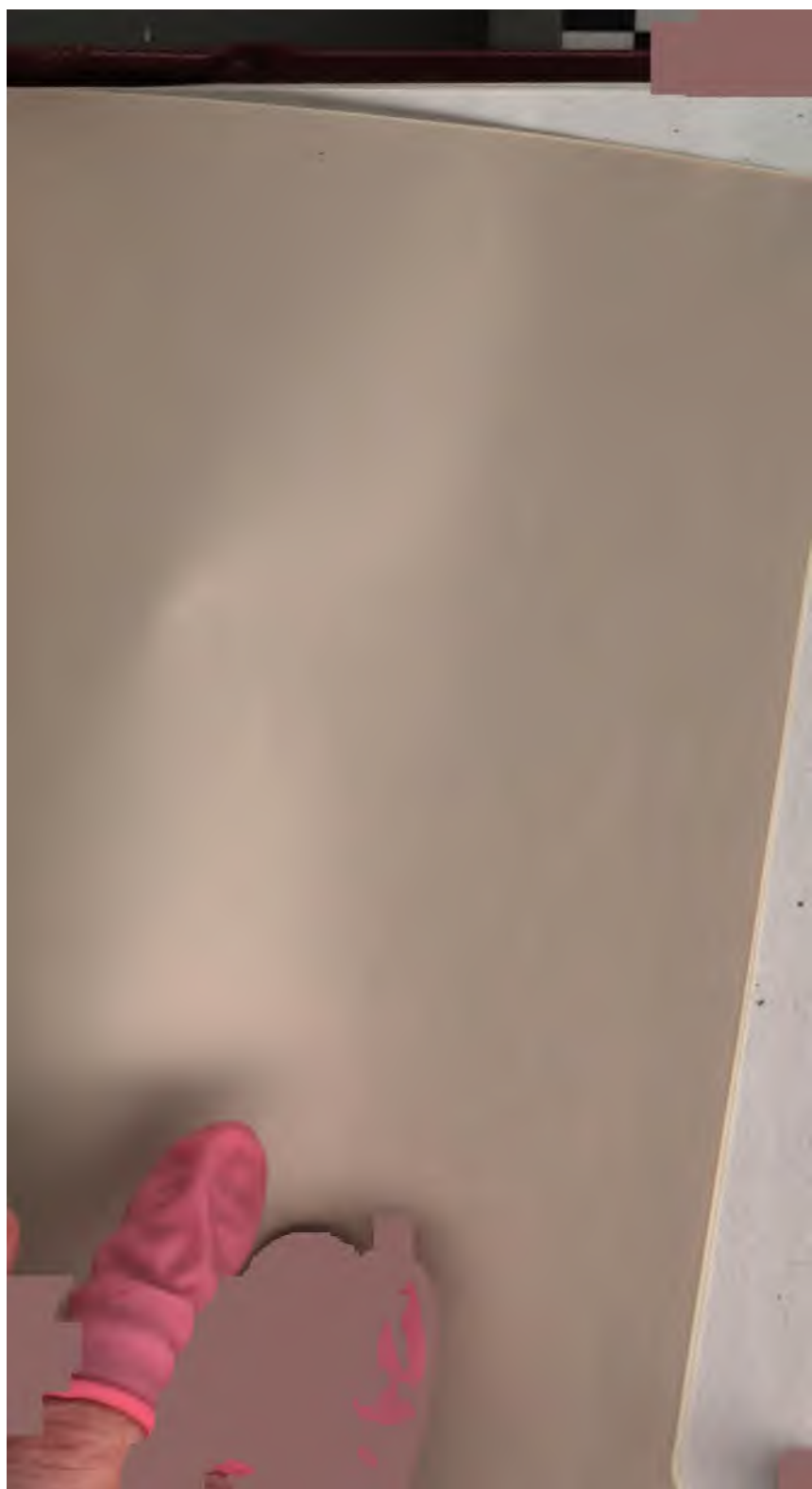


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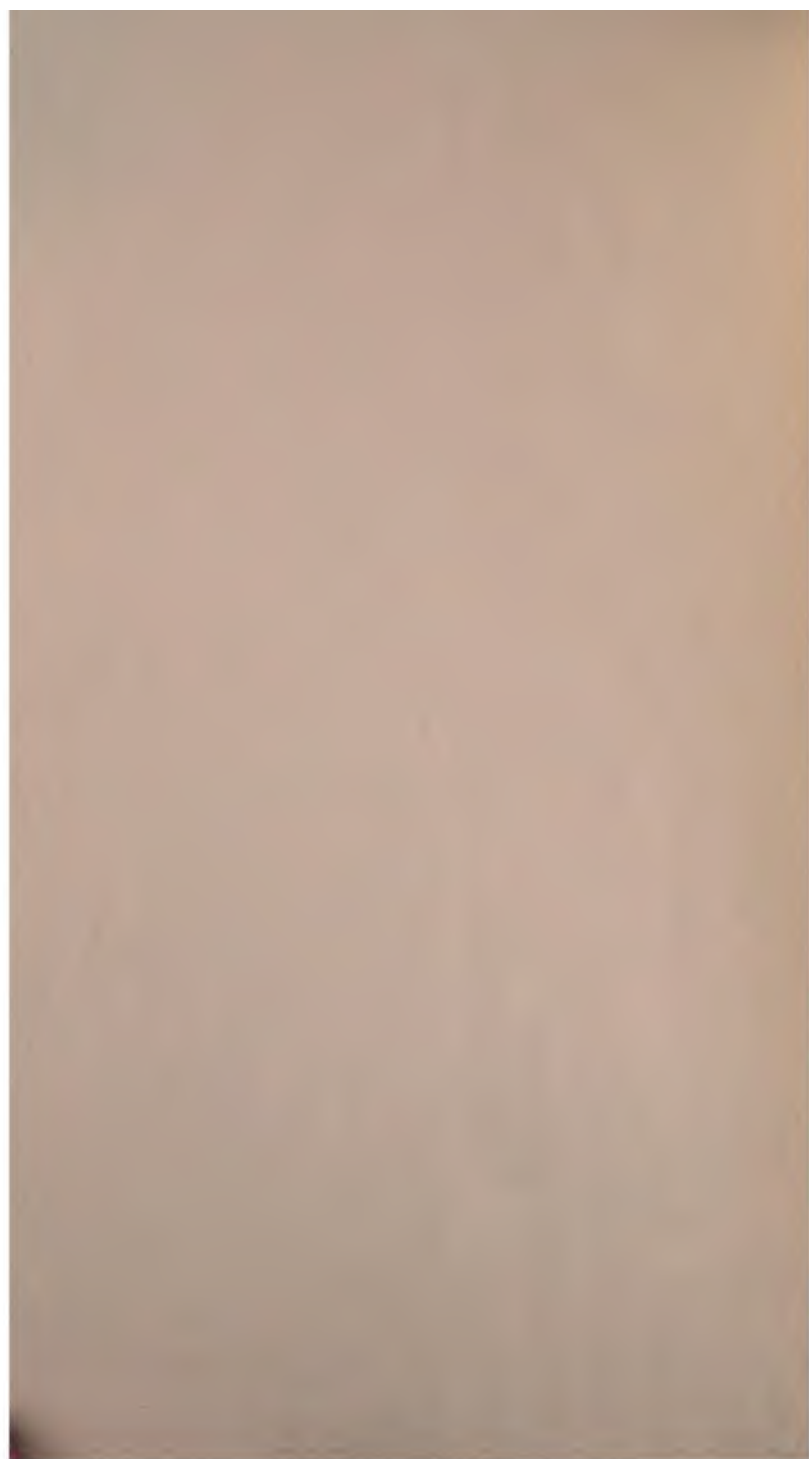
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**THE LIFE**

AND

**CONTEMPORANEOUS CHURCH HISTORY**

OF

**ANTONIO DE DOMINIS,**

ARCHBISHOP OF SPALATRO,

Which included the Kingdoms of Dalmatia and Croatia;

AFTERWARDS DEAN OF WINDSOR, MASTER OF THE SAVOY, AND RECTOR OF WEST HALEY  
IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, IN THE REIGN OF JAMES I.

BY

**HENRY NEWLAND, D.D.,**  
DEAN OF FERNS.

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TO  
THE CHURCH IN IRELAND,  
*"for she loved much,"*  
THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED  
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## Preface.

SOME years since, a succession of essays of mine appeared in a periodical of much circulation on the life of Antonio De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro. At the time of their appearance it was suggested to me to endeavour to fill up and complete the history of this remarkable man. The want of several ancient documents prevented me hitherto. I have now, from some rare sources, endeavoured to make this essay as perfect as possible, though I am aware it still labours under very many deficiencies. I have re-written it, and added considerably to its original meagre condition. I hope it may be useful in delineating some of the features of an obscure part of our ecclesiastical annals, and be favourably received by the clergy and the public.

Since the following pages have been completed for publication, information has reached me that many valuable letters and documents concerning the Archbishop exist in the State Paper Office. From the brief references to these, furnished by the recently published "Domestic Calendars for the Reign of James I.," I can see much reason to regret that I did not become aware of their existence





until it was too late to profit by them. However, all the statements made by me are taken from documents written and published at the time either by the Archbishop or his opponents. All that I can now do is to offer this explanation of an apparent neglect, and to express the intention, should my work be deemed worthy of a second edition, to make future use of these additional materials; or, perhaps, on my looking into them, it may be found worth while to publish a second volume, consisting of these original letters in full, with such explanatory notes as may be necessary.

**HENRY GILES,**

*April, 1859.*

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## CHAPTER I.

**A** LIFE of Marc Antony de Dominis has never been published ; yet there are many interesting circumstances connected with his history. Perhaps some readers may be gratified by the effort to collect, from various quarters, such information as will describe and develope the events that have introduced his name into the annals of the Church of England.

Antonio de Dominis was born at Arba, in Dalmatia, about the year 1566. He received his early education at Padua, and afterwards was placed under the Jesuits. Being descended from a noble family, his mind was early disciplined in elegant literature. He had attained to such an unexampled reputation for learning, that he soon became too much elated in consequence of his acquirements, and therefore desired, more than was meet, the honours that the world generally bestows on the results of high mental education. The applause he received ill-consorted with the solitariness of a monk's life ; indeed, its loneliness soon wearied and fatigued him ; he desired a more public and distinguished theatre for the display of his great acquirements. The Church, too, was anxious to secure and reward his high attainments, and therefore, at an early age, appropriated them to her own



especial service by elevating him to the Bishopric of Segnia when he was barely thirty-six years of age. He continued for twenty years in that see, and was then advanced to the higher and more lucrative position of Archbishop of Spalatro. His jurisdiction was now greatly increased, for it extended over the two kingdoms of Dalmatia and Croatia. He was, properly, Primate of Dalmatia. Such, indeed, anciently and of right the persons occupying that see were so considered, till the Bishop of Venice, who was constituted a Patriarch by Eugenius IV. in the year 1450, assumed and appropriated that title to himself. He claimed also the superintendency of all the Churches of that country as subordinate to him. The name of this see was derived from a maritime town which had been the mart of the Levant trade. The ruins of the palace of Dioclesian still exist here: they were long celebrated and much visited. The town of Spalatro, from which the name of the see is derived, had belonged to the Venetians since the year 1420.

The Archbishop had been for a long time eminently distinguished for great and various talents. He had been under the instruction of the most celebrated teachers of the Jesuits; he was minutely versed in the writings of the Primitive fathers, and in the history of the Greek and Latin Churches. His attainments, however, in Greek were never considered sufficient to rank his name as a scholar, and some authorities have doubted

that he was acquainted with the language. Indeed, at all times, even to the present day, the Church of Rome does not patronize, in an equal degree, the cultivation of the Greek and Latin languages: therefore the original of the New Testament is very superficially known to the priesthood of their religion. Does this neglect arise from the want of a due appreciation of the blessed Word of God ?

The Archbishop was led by a mind naturally strong, and a meditative disposition, aided by the resources of an almost universal acquaintance with ecclesiastical history, to discover that the claim of the Pope to supremacy had no just foundation. In fact, it derived as little sanction from the past, and the heads of the Church in ancient times, as it has ever done from the revealed Word of God. At this propitious moment De Dominis became acquainted, at Venice, with Bishop Bedell. He was at that time chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, who was ambassador from the court of James I. in that city. Happily, the Archbishop's intercourse with so able and devoted a man at the auspicious moment of these investigations, tended, in a considerable degree, as well to settle and deepen these

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\* "In scholis Jesuitarum enutritum, eorum Cratippos non annum, sed triginta plus minus annos audientem, in omni doctrinarum genere, cum summâ apud tuos laude versatum, in mathematicis, in logicis, in philosophiæ studiis instructum, belluonem librorum præsertim Conciliorum et Patrum qui in studiis immersus in Museo quasi sepultus."—*Defensio Eccl. Angl. contra M. Antonii De Dominis Spalatensis injurias*, D. Rich. Crakenhorp, p. 30, 1625.

convictions in his mind, as to awaken in his affections a love and admiration of his new friend. He was at last induced boldly to avow the change in his opinions, to which he had been long verging. He had been determined not hastily to avow this change, or to build his faith in the reformed doctrines on a sandy foundation. He was well aware of the eminent position to which his great abilities and acquirements had elevated him; he was most anxious to be enabled to present to the public a satisfactory justification for his secession from the Church of Rome. He therefore entered at once and at large upon an accurate examination of all the peculiar doctrines by which her creed is contradistinguished from the ancient Catholic Church. He was taught to believe that the nearest image to the truth was developed and embodied in the articles, ritual, and formularies of the Church of England. By the most elaborate quotations from the writings of the early Fathers, he satisfactorily convinced himself that the Church, to the highest honours of which he had been elevated, except the throne of the Pope and the principedom of a Cardinal, had most egregiously departed from the pure doctrines of the Gospel. The doubts thus begotten in his mind he anxiously revealed to Bishop Bedell. He produced for his inspection, and as evidence of patient and judicious search after truth, ten books of his famous and justly celebrated work, *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*. The Bishop most joyfully received



and perused with care this learned and able work, and availed himself of the opportunity thus presented to amend many incorrect quotations, as well of the Word of God as of the early Fathers, particularly those of the Greek Church. The Archbishop was well aware of and acknowledged his deficiency in Grecian literature, and therefore willingly submitted to the emendations of his learned and pious friend. From this period these two distinguished men became so intimately and affectionately attached to each other, that De Dominis constantly affirmed, "I can do nothing without Bedell."

The Bishop's character is so precious in the annals of the Church, particularly that part of it that is planted in Ireland, that no apology is necessary in alluding here to the fact that Sir Henry Wotton interceded with the King to confer on him the Provostship of the University of Dublin. The application happily succeeded. Wotton stated, in communicating with his Majesty, that Dr. Bedell had long been his chaplain, and that his singular piety and erudition eminently qualified him for so elevated a position. The subsequent discharge of this important trust induced the King, after the short space of two years, to nominate him to the see of Kilmore and Ardagh. The letter in which this subject is mentioned may not be uninteresting:—

*"To the King, 1627.*

*"May it please your gracious Majesty,*

*"Having been informed that certain persons have, by the good wishes of the Archbishop of Armagh, been*

directed hither, with a most humble petition to your Majesty, that you will be pleased to make Mr. William Bedell, now resident upon a small benefice in Suffolk, governor of your college in Dublin, for the good of that society; and myself being required to render unto your Majesty some testimony of the said William Bedell, who was long my chaplain at Venice, at the time of my first employment, I am bound, in all conscience and truth, so far as your Majesty will vouchsafe to accept my poor judgment, to affirm of him, that I think a fitter man for that charge could hardly have been propounded unto your Majesty in your whole kingdom, for singular erudition and piety, conformity to the rules of your Church, and zeal to advance the cause of God, wherein his travels abroad were not obscure in the time of the excommunication of the Venetians. For may it please your Majesty to know, that is the man that Padre Paulo<sup>b</sup> took, I may say, into his very soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart, from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all divinity, both scholastic and positive, than from any he had ever practised in his days, of which all the passages were well known unto the King, your father, of blessed memory. And so, with your Majesty's good favour, I will end this needless office, for the general fame both of his learning, and life, and Christian temper, and those religious labours which he hath dedicated to your Majesty, do better describe them.

"Your Majesty's most humble

"and faithful servant,

"H. WOTTON."

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<sup>b</sup> Birch's "Prince of Wales," p. 262.

<sup>c</sup> *Reliquia Wottoniana*, pp. 329, 330.

These three eminent divines and scholars, Bishop Bedell, Paul Sarpi, and the Archbishop of Spalatro, must have enjoyed a most charming intercourse with each other. The times they lived in; the interesting events that were daily crowded into them; the state of Venice, so rich in mind and public spirit, vibrating between slavery and freedom, and not unlike some of the Italian kingdoms in our own days, wavering between the darkness of religious error and the holy light that issued from the cause of the Reformation; the perplexity that hung over the advocates of Romish ascendancy; the liberty that waked new life in the souls of the people; the open and proclaimed adherence to the Reformation by Spalatro; the more stedfast yet more secret adhesion to its mighty though not openly avowed truths by Father Paul, and the calm yet ardent faith of the pure and holy Bedell, must have imparted an exciting interest to the intimate correspondence which their kindred hopes and illustrious minds had displayed on the subjects that engaged and engrossed their thoughts and affections as well as the public mind.

The political position of Venice, and the necessary connexion of the Church of Rome with the examination and settlement of every public measure, had induced Paul Sarpi to investigate the pretended foundation of the assumed power and creed of that Church. One great mind cannot be engaged daily with the thoughts of another powerful intellect without being impressed by the reason-

ing and wisdom that are displayed in vindication of any important question; and doubtless the piety and learning of Bedell in the rich soil of Paul Sarpi's mind had deepened any impressions which his own sense of divine truth had entertained, or the light struck from other quarters had induced him to receive. Perhaps it is not too hazardous a speculation to assert that his modest steadfastness in the maintenance of religion and liberty retained to the close of his life the charmed and hallowed influence of Bedell's piety and intellect, calm and fixed, neither warped by popular excitement nor depressed by the cold temper of the minds around him.

In an equal degree the heavenly aspirations of Paul Sarpi may have had considerable effect in moderating the controversial zeal of the Bishop. Whether his intercourse with Father Paul contributed to produce this result, it is certain that the tone of Bedell's mind had become as temperate as the most sincere and calm lover of true religion could desire. Many proofs of the meekness of his temper in connexion with the discussion of religious questions are preserved; yet no inference is from hence to be deduced that he did not as distinctly as ever both see and condemn the great corruptions of the Church of Rome. But he evidently thought that condemnation of false doctrine more safely as well as more surely attained its wished for end and object by moderation than by violence. He considered that temperate reproof expressed in

mild language more suitably became the advocate of Christian meekness than angry declamation. This weapon or mode of defence in controversy is always displayed when the writer or speaker needs some make-weight to supply the absence of learning, sound sense, or argument. Zeal too highly tempered and impetuous is more easily assumed than the natural dignity and holy influence of true piety<sup>4</sup>.

Paul Sarpi had long been the most able and dignified champion of the political rights of Venice, and of the much needed freedom and purity of the Church. Her ambition he had strenuously resisted, and her creed, if he did not openly expose, he had effectually condemned. He personally enjoyed the intercourse of distinguished Protestants whenever

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<sup>4</sup> See Burnet's *Life of Bedell*, parts of sermons, pp. 121 and 129, and his *Letter to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kilmore*, p. 146, edit. 1758. It seems very likely that his intercourse with Paul Sarpi was present to his mind when he wrote the passage in his sermon, pp. 121, 122,—“Religion is not logic; he that cannot give a true definition of the soul is not for that without a soul; so that he that defines not faith truly, yet may have true faith.” “Learned divines are not all of accord touching the definition of it, but if it be a trust and cleaving unto God, this faith many have, the love of our Lord Jesus Christ is wrought in many. Now he that loveth Christ is loved of Him and of the Father also, and because the proof of true love to Christ is the keeping of His sayings, there are good works, and according to the measure of knowledge, a great *conscience* of obedience.” And can there be found in all the records of the saints of the Church any act superior in fervour of piety and the meek earnestness of devotion to his address to his family in his last illness just before his death, as recorded in his *Life*, p. 262?

an opportunity presented itself of embracing it. His correspondence was almost unlimited, and carried on chiefly with members of the Reformed Church. Yet he lived and died apparently in the bosom of the Church of Rome.

Bishop Bodell was intimately acquainted with the deep piety and singular clearness of intellect which in truth illuminated all the various stores of learning which distinguished his honoured friend. He knew all his accurate skill in detailing the false assumption of purity of doctrine and of holiness of purpose in the Church of Rome. Yet though he had not recalled one objection he had ever set forth, nor qualified nor denied the force of any argument he had ever alleged against her doctrines or assumed supremacy, though he had exposed with the highest ability, the greatest learning, and the most devoted industry the ambition of the spiritual rulers of the Church, and unravelled the sophistry and exposed the ignorance of the authors of the Council of Trent, yet still his conscience was strangely satisfied, for though he knew the errors of her creed, and left a record of their refutation in his writings, he did not openly vindicate his faith, but died in the bosom of that Church.

And in the case of the Archbishop of Spalatro, it is not easy to pronounce judgment. With an intellect so astute, a taste so refined, a mind so enlarged and highly cultivated, he had applied all his stores of erudition to elucidate the intricacies and expose the mystical web of the Romish creed,

yet at last he appeared to be unsettled and wavering in his faith. Who now can tell how deep the impression made upon his mind by the fact that the ablest scholar, with the purest mind he had ever been in close contact with, continued to the last at least in nominal and professed connexion with the Church of Rome? Yet this was the case of Paul Sarpi, though it may truly be said that a shrinking timidity, perhaps, indeed, a want of energy and resolution, produced this unexpected termination of a public career, distinguished not less by genius displayed on all subjects in which he allowed his mind to engage, than by a refined judgment by which he was enabled with such skill to analyse and expose the corruptions of Rome with infinite ability and wit.

## CHAPTER II.

**T**HE Archbishop at last adopted the resolution he had long meditated upon. He knew that his conduct would be the subject of most malignant commentary. He anxiously examined the motives which had guided his decision, and he published them to vindicate his own reputation and for the satisfaction of others\*. The passages that shall now be quoted most eloquently explain the various reasons that influenced him to desert the Church of Rome. They are interesting as well as instructive. They develop the various impediments that entangle and enchain a great mind when struggling against the truth. One can easily perceive not only how ardent an inquirer but how bold and

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\* "A Manifestation of the Motives whereupon the Most Reverend Father Marcus Antonius De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, in the Territorie of Venice, undertooke his Departure thence; Englished out of the Latine Copy at London. Printed by John Bill, 1616."

This was a translation of the first edition of the following:—  
"Reverendissimi in Christo Patris Marci Antonii De Dominis, Archiepiscopi Spalatensis, consilium causas discessus sui ex Italia et Psychotyranide Pontificis Romani exponit longe gravissimus. Excusum primo Venetiis 20 die Septemb. anno 1616. Jam denuo ad primum exemplar fideliter recusum 12 Januarii, anno 1617."

There was another edition:—"Marcus Antonius De Dominis, Archiepiscopus Spalatensis, suae protectionis consilium exponit." No place, no date.

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determined he was in carrying his resolutions into effect. He commences with an account of his flight from Venice, and his desertion of the Church of Rome:—

“Lest this my departure, howsoever in itself grounded upon well-weighed reasons, and being in truth the full ripe fruit of ten years’ deliberation at the least, yet being, in the apprehension of others, sudden and unexpected, should by my silence be liable not only to I know not what wonderment of those among whom I have been brought up, but also to the misconstructions of those that taste not the motives thereof, I hold it necessary, by way of seasonable prevention, to publish to the world the true causes and grounds of this my not heady, nor hasty, but duly forethought secession. At the first insight whereinto I cannot but foresee that I am like to open the mouths of distractors and backbiters more than a good many, who, out of this my departure, will pick occasions of declaiming and exclaiming against me, and devising slanders of me, as is too usual in such cases. But with the smoke of such vain calumniators, I profess to God and the world, I am not over much affected. To me, as to St. Paul, it is a very small thing to be judged of men. Let me, for Christ’s cause, let me be a fool, let me be base, let me be buffeted, reviled, persecuted, defamed; let me be accounted the dregs and off-scourings of the world, let me even be accursed; may I the while do my duty to my Lord Jesus Christ, and become useful to my brethren in the ministry of Christ. I may, I must trample on all these reproaches. For this is my boasting, even the testimony of my conscience, that in singleness of heart and godly sincerity, not in carnal wisdom, but by the grace of God, I leave my own country and pass into another. It is my part to approve myself as the minister of God in much

patience, in affliction, in necessities, in distresses, in labours, through honour and dishonour, through good report and evil report. For I seek not myself, nor mine own, but the things of Christ. This rather troubleth and perplexeth me, that if I should not step forth boldly and meet with slanders and calumnies, the benefit which might accrue unto many, by taking notice of my intentions, would be hindered; and many, perhaps, still remaining unacquainted with my courses, might, instead of edification, be taken unawares in the snare of some scandal and misdeeming of me. For the helping of such men's infirmity especially are the motives and meaning of this my departure thus wrought unto light and set forth to the view of all men. That this my voluntary removal is suggested to me by no human, but even divine vocation, I am firmly resolved, nor may once doubt of it. Certes, I know that every spirit is not over easily to be credited, but the spirits are to be tried whether they be of God or no, as we are taught by John, the beloved disciple of Christ. In these trials, besides my often presenting myself unto the Father of lights in such manner as my Saviour hath instructed me, and thus continuing in the diligent search of the truth for the space of ten years, as I said, other help of resort had I none. No man's (I call God and my conscience to witness)—no man's persuasions of any kind did once come to my ears; no man can cast forth any bait to allure me; no man suggested any arguments to instruct me; I used no man's counsel; I conferred not in this business with any man living. Nor let any man surmise that I drew my strength from such books as are framed against the doctrine of the Church of Rome. He that knoweth all things is a witness to me, that I have utterly abhorred meddling with such prohibited ware; and if ever any prelate; the most dutiful observant of the Church of Rome, hath detested those books, surely (in the scare.

bug fears which from my tender years have possessed me) I have held them detestable above measure. And yet now methinks I am no babe, who having seen almost threescore years, should be pliable to any man's bent, to be persuaded to what he pleases without sufficient argument."

"My understanding and judgment hath never been directed by any rules other than those which the Spirit of God hath prescribed to the Holy Church in the Scriptures, and by guidance whereof the holy orthodox Fathers, most renowned and reverend in the Catholic Church, have instructed the faithful flock of Christ. And these Fathers only (together with the inward motions of the Holy Spirit) have been the sufficient authors of this my resolution. Why, therefore, should I suspect this to be the suggestions of a wicked spirit? From such suspicion I am further freed because I perfectly know, and avouch before God that searcheth the heart and the reins, that I, in all this my deliberation, never cast my eye to human and temporal ends. I thirsted not after ecclesiastical promotions, though they might well seem suitable to my condition; for I was already a bishop, and that not of the lowest rank, but chief of the province wherein I was born, namely, Archbishop of Spalatro, formerly styled of Salona, and Primate of the two kingdoms Dalmatia and Croatia; a prelacy which is (why should I blush to say it?) of as great esteem as any in our provinces and churches. And if I had longed after any of the Roman dignities, there was a fair way open for me toward them. But the distaste which I took against the corruptions of the court of Rome make me still abhor it<sup>b</sup>."

If ambition had prompted his secession, he asserts that even higher honours than those he had

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<sup>b</sup> "Manifestation of Motives," pp. 1, 17.

attained awaited him. The court of Rome had entrusted to his care the management of weighty affairs of great public interest; he had been their envoy to the emperor and the archdukes. That these statements were not his assertions only, he referred to the Pope's briefs, and the letters which those illustrious individuals had written to him. Besides, the state of Venice, in which he had been born, had manifested their admiration of his diplomatic abilities in some affairs connected with their interest which he had directed to a prosperous conclusion. For these reasons, he conceived, he might have raised his fortunes, if he had coveted greater and "more transcendent dignities" than those he had already attained. And then the love of money could have been no incentive to his adoption of another creed, for he had a competency of riches to satisfy any moderate mind, whereas his new position possessed neither dignities nor fortune. Therefore the ordinary attractions which lead to change could have had, we would surmise from the apparent circumstances, no sway in the determination of his choice. His own asseveration, in relation to his view of the case, was "not any human project, not any worldly necessity, not any disastrous chance, not any preposterous motive wherewith men used to be transported violently, hath made me quit the place wherein I sat warm." He has stated that higher honours than he had attained awaited him. And though it is admitted in a sneering, indeed in a slanderous insinuation, that

this is true, it is nevertheless not denied\*. Indeed, the vengeance that pursued him is a melancholy evidence of the greatness of his ability and the extent of his learning when they were devoted to the maintenance and propagation of the truth. For on the publication of his great work, *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*, he has declared that the Pope, by the instrumentality of his inquisitors and apostolic nuncios, by the bishops of the Church, by the princes in alliance with the popedom and magistracy of Rome, had decreed that care should be taken that the Archbishop's book should not be permitted to reach the hands even of their own bishops. Need we add that papal commands so important as this travelled with a velocity that anticipated electrical speed<sup>4</sup>.

These circumstances intimated to the Archbishop the wisdom of escaping from his own country and seeking a home in a foreign land. For Rome, when willing to wound, is not afraid to strike; the act generally accompanies the will. Paul Sarpi, for

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\* "Papatum votis omnibus expetis; illi olim certa spe inhiaveris. Cogitaveras Papatum familiæ tuæ alligare Ecclesiæque monarchas relinquere nepotulos tuos in infinitum." See "Hypocrisis Marci Antonii De Dominis Detector seu censura in ejus libros de Republica Ecclesiastica, præambula pleniori responsioni. Auctore fideli annoso Veremento Theologo. Antwerpise ex officina Plantiniana apud Balthascerem Moretum et viduam Johannis Moreti et Jo. Meursium." 1620, p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> "Pontifex per suos inquisitores, per nuncios apostolicos, per episcopos, per principes etiam ac magistratus caverat ne vel ad episcopos ipse 'Respublica' accessum haberet." See Spalatensis, *De Repub.*, c. 7.

instance, had escaped not one only, but many conspiracies to take away his life. Providence defended him against his secret foes. But his faithful friend Fulgentio did not elude their vengeance. He who had attended the death-bed of Paul Sarpi, he who had prayed the last prayer he heard for his soul, and from whose lips the word of divine truth had last reached his ears, and, when he was no more, inscribed a noble testimony to his memory, him the emissaries of Rome first deceived, and then sacrificed. For the counsellors of secret mischief first wooed him to Rome, and Berlengerius Gessius, a bishop, too, and apostolic nuncio to the Venetians, even gave him a *salvum conductum*. Yet notwithstanding these treacherous appearances of favour, they doomed him to fire and faggot, and consigned him to their undying vengeance in the camp of Flora. And what was his crime? His love and reverence for the greatest man that ever adorned the Church of Rome. Fulgentio was murdered because he estimated at his due worth the best man with the noblest and richest intellect that ever bloomed in that ungenial soil. For Paul Sarpi is certainly the second to Lord Bacon of the illustrious men of the age, if he ought not, in the estimation of some, to contest with him the highest place of honour.

The statements made in the commencement of this chapter, in the quotations from "The Manifestation of Motives," deserve serious examination and thought. They may be considered a transcript

of the influences that ordinarily sway inquiring and doubting men. The motives that induced them to suspect that the doctrines of the Church of Rome were not founded on the Word of God exhibit a faithful picture of the struggle by which minds like his, rich by nature and refined by high cultivation, are fettered by the unpliant chain of habit, and the difficulty of disembarassing the thoughts from its restraints. In his case, as in many others, we perceive that his intelligent mind, unaided by higher and purer motives, enabled him to attain a knowledge of the disagreement between the character which the Word of God has inseparably affixed to His Church and that which the authority of man has imprinted on it; in fact, of the difference between the unalterable truths of revelation and the false glosses of tradition. In a large degree the Archbishop had shaken off the trammels of his education in the schools of the Jesuits. Yet still his new opinions, not being the result and fruit of unearthly teaching, were not and could not be of such vigorous growth as to attain maturity in his mind, and in the government of his heart, without being intercepted in their expanding energies by the weeds of the system in which he had at first been taught. The originating cause of this state of mind explains the fluctuations of the faith of many hesitating converts. For an equal weight of authority has been assigned to the Word of God and the Fathers of the Church who have interpreted that Word; or, rather, the source of knowledge is in it,

*but the meaning is declared to be in them.* So that in deriving the foundations of faith from the fallible interpreter, the pupil is supposed to be under the instruction of that which is alone inspired. Thus the Fathers of the Church have been inappropriately installed into the place of being the acknowledged and authorized commentators, from whom no dissent is permitted or justified. But the meaning of the Word of God is not even given to the members of the Church as those Fathers have declared that meaning to be. For other teachers, ignorant of what they have declared the true interpretation, or biassed by mistaken or prejudiced opinions, misstate, either from ignorance or design, what these ancient instructors have recorded; so that they adulterate or falsify what may have been truly taught, or they invent or develope some novel interpretation of the Word of God, as if it were the ancient meaning of the Church, or delivered by authority to her members as the present one. Thus not only the Word of God, but the commentary of wise and holy men upon it, may be and often has been corrupted or put aside for the purpose of setting forth some new heresy or some profitable deceit.

These remarks may derive confirmation from the instance of the Archbishop. If the Bible had been the chief oracle of consultation in the formation of his creed, his faith would have been more permanently fixed and abiding. For when human authority, however venerable or highly gifted, shakes our adherence to any doctrine or system of



theology, the mind never loses the impression that the judgment thus formed has been deduced from the arguments or reasoning of fallible men. However convincing the tenets thus adopted, their continuance in the mind as a settled creed may partake of the changing nature of its authors. For we more willingly and imperceptibly to ourselves will subject them to the crucible of other men's speculations, because they were originally adopted on the authority of man only. One set of teachers may inculcate heavenly truth, and another erroneous doctrine, but our selection of the one and rejection of the other will be more sure and steadfast, if we go ourselves to the fountain from whence divine truth flows to man. The reason of this is evident; though we embrace pure doctrine delivered by a faithful teacher, we nevertheless, if this be our sole source of knowledge, abandon the one commanding avenue to conviction, namely, that which has impressed so deeply and authoritatively the teacher who has instructed so truthfully and so well. Still we only reflect the gleams of the distant light that has illuminated the reason and inspired the language of our instructor. Any opinion being adopted as true, simply because a faithful witness has declared it, is still liable to be abandoned when the impressions with which it was at first received have been cooled by time, or placed in contradistinction with its antagonist argument applied by a skilful rhetorician or artful declaimer. The true opinion or the false one is canvassed

without reference to a higher authority than the deductions of man; the acceptance or rejection of them depends considerably upon the ingenuity of their advocates. Human motives, too, in a greater degree than ordinarily enter into the reasons which sway the judgment. For as the decision at either side is approved on human authority only, we are less restrained in admitting the fallibility of that advocate whose opinion is opposed to the law of God or our worldly interests. We are aware that here an ingenious disputant or wily casuist may allege that our own determination of the true doctrine of the Scripture may also be liable to the imputation of being a human speculation, and for this reason our adoption of truth and steadfastness in maintaining it is also and equally liable to mutation; we at once admit that the doctrine thus adopted upon our own investigation of divine truth may be changed, but the likelihood, or rather the liability, to alteration is less probable, and for these reasons:—

In the first place, we may calculate with greater certainty upon encouragement and help from the Father of Light that we shall continue in the maintenance of the truth sought in His own prescribed way, namely, the independent study of Scripture.

Secondly, we have ourselves compared false systems directly with truth itself; we have had subjected to our judgment the various opinions of man against the declared will of God: therefore the leaning of the mind will be stronger towards the

testimony of Scripture than the teaching of human authority.

And thirdly, we have had the whole truth or revelation of God arrayed before us, and not merely a detached or disjointed speculation to consider, which may be supported by every ingenuity, and at the same time all the avenues to the opposing interpretation skilfully closed up. But by consulting the Bible as the only repository of divine wisdom, we compare not only the doctrine upon which our attention is immediately fixed with the one set up in opposition to impugn it, but we test it, moreover, by its harmony with the whole revelation of God. The corruption of the heart, and the fallible decisions of human intellect, are common quantities in each kind of investigation. But there is no flaw in the authorities of the Bible; they are all divine; so that it is not with human ingenuity, or learning, or knowledge we combat what is wicked, ingenious, or false, but with the entire armoury of divine knowledge, as God has written it for the use of each and all.

### CHAPTER III.

**T**HE Archbishop rehearses so eloquently the motives which led to his change of mind, and the passage portrays so accurately the iron chain which fetters any investigation by persons in the Church of Rome, that a few extracts may be interesting :—

“I have from my very childhood been brought up in the study of divinity, and that mostwhat among the Jesuits, and have kept myself to the current of the Schoolmen, always bending to the determination of the Church of Rome, not for strength of argument, but reverence of authority; with the tincture whereof my mind was so deeply dyed, and my understanding so captivated, that I resolved rather to leave my life than to let go my hold; for I was so fast bound with the chain of religious awfulness, that I deemed it inexcusable sacrilege once to admit into my heart any thought of contrary assertion, or of so much as doubtful wavering about these points. And if at any time I were overtaken with any thought of opposition, or, in my search into Holy Writ, did light upon anything that stumbled me, straightways I curbed myself, deeming that I was bound to do so, in point of faith, and either forced my judgment to leap over all obstacles, or else diverted my meditations out of that road, lest I should make or find any flaw in the composure of that religion which we silly younglings take upon trust, with general warranty from our masters. I cannot but confess that every while I felt the sparks of God’s Spirit kindling within me, which I still strived to quench but could no more than smother, they left always such a restless

anxiety in my mind, accompanied with deep impressions of suspicion, which so stuck to me, and grew up together with my studies in divinity, that I could never shake them off. This my inveterate suspicion took deep root by the distaste I had of that extreme cautiousness and rigorous prohibition wherein all forces, both Roman abroad and Jesuitical at home, are strained to the highest, all eyes are open and all doors are shut for debarring us the reading or having any manner of books savouring of opposition against the doctrine of the Church of Rome.

"As for the common people, defective, for the most part, in discerning and determining such controversies, I hold it not unfit that some restraint be made of lawless liberty in that kind, lest instead of instruction they should suck the poison of erroneous opinions out of dangerous discourses. But that learned men, well affected to the Catholic faith, and eminent for the soundness of their doctrine, that such old soldiers should not be suffered to view the naked face of their enemy, my mind always told me, and good reason for it, that somewhat was in the mind which was loath to be traced out. If young novices ought thus to be hoodwinked, yet those who have run through the whole course of divinity, that have taken degrees in that sacred profession, that have been advanced to the episcopal chair, must we still be kept in this pupillage under the rod of the Roman court, as not fit to digest and judge of what we read. When from the bishop's chair I looked into the schools of the professors, there I found also that which increased my suspicion,—the doctors and public professors, in their solemn writings and readings of the controversies, putting us to take on their own word whatever they allege as a passage or opinion of their adversaries, and debarring their auditors, under pain of excommunication, from reading with their own eyes the treatises thus quoted to them, for the hiding, suppressing, and total

defacing of which kind of books there would not be such double diligence used were there not something stronger in them than our champions are upon even terms able to encounter<sup>a</sup>."

How marvellous is the perpetuation from age to age of the influence of the Church of Rome in concealing knowledge from the people! As it advances in its various departments, she follows with cautious step and wakeful eye, and seals it up from her votaries. She fosters darkness with religious zeal. Her children everywhere throughout the habitual world are, as it were, on a pilgrimage to fasten up light from the mind. Her disciples seem to rejoice in their vocation; the principle that propels them onwards in their work is, that they love darkness rather than light. Yet some great and rare minds like the Archbishop's, as he is described in the passages just quoted, wince under the restraint of ordinary hindrances; they long for fresh knowledge, and pant for the means of acquiring it. But if the preventives used on other occasions to allay this craving after intellectual improvement do not succeed, some novel exercise of authority or wily act of diplomacy is invented to restrain the effort of those who struggle to be free. The art of printing was, therefore, hailed with rapturous delight by the intellect of the universe, as it would serve as a golden thread to conduct the imprisoned slaves of darkness into the light of day. The discovery seemed, indeed, to multiply the responsibility of the

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<sup>a</sup> "Manifestation of Motives."

rulers of the Church. But the advocates and pupils of ignorance still moved on silently in their destined occupation, and even to gather energy in the diffusion of darkness. Sometimes, therefore, increased exertion may be observed in her movements, but it is only when the light of knowledge becomes more distinct and embarrassing from the information it scatters around upon the emissaries of darkness. Rome displays her genius most in developing her tact in sealing up the avenues of knowledge, when with incomparable skill and energy she devises new barriers against light, and invents new stratagems of delusion to keep it from the people.

About twenty years before the Archbishop's departure from Venice he had been elevated, as we have said, from an humble station in the Church to be Bishop of Segnia. This appointment was displeasing to the Jesuits among whom he had been educated, and who had derived great advantages from the exercise of his abilities in their cause, and from that activity of zeal which animated him in every occupation in which he had been engaged. They had testified the high sense they entertained of his intellect and learning by appointing him, before the half of his probation had expired, to read the Public Humanity lecture at Verona, and even before he had entered into the order of the priesthood, the Mathematical lecture at Padua. They also made him Professor of Rhetoric, then of Logic, and lastly of Physic, at Bressia. He had frequently been selected to preach on solemn feast days in

their churches. On more occasions than one he had been chosen by them to manage their private affairs, and therefore they regretted that a person so useful to them was now taken out of their hands, and elevated to such a dignity in the Church as necessarily excluded them from any interference with his occupations and time.

When De Deminis had been called from the disputes of Schoolmen into the practical sphere of episcopal duties, he at once studied what they were, and devoted himself to the discharge of them. He considered preaching an inseparable and eminently necessary part of the office of a bishop. He thus describes his mode of proceeding:—

“I did, as our preachers are wont, employ some pains in turning over such postillers and lenten-homelists as are current among us; but it was not long before my stomach loathed that coarse and unwholesome food. I found in them, and that without long search, such a world of foul abuses, the Scripture wryed and strained to idle, fruitless impertinence, nay, pernicious constructions, discourses stuffed with apocryphal stories, ridiculous tales and fabulous legends, the poor people miserably gulled by pick-purse tricks and tyrannous yokes put upon them under the visor of piety and name of Catholic doctrine, wherewith their fearful consciences are overawed and ensnared in superstition. These enormities I saw, and starting back with amazement and detestation of them, I found that it was high time for me to leave these muddy puddles, and to betake myself to the clear fountains of the holy and ancient Fathers of the Church. Out of their tractates I furnished myself for preaching, and out of the



sacred Scriptures for Church government : in both I found mine own content, in both the profit of others."

The Archbishop appears at this period to have been a sedulous student; fresh light seemed to have accompanied his investigations as he proceeded in his inquiries. The preparations for these sermons enabled him to discover many passages in the Fathers repugnant to the common tenets of the Schoolmen; and those passages were either entirely omitted in the commentaries and books of the modern teachers of Romanism, "or corruptly alleged, or insufficiently explained, or purposely misconstrued." His wonder was increased to see the spiritual government of his times so far different from the ancient. The more deeply he examined and the more he extended his inquiries, his suspicions of foul play were confirmed. He concluded, therefore, that the setting forth of Christian doctrine and managing the affairs of the Church were entirely corrupted, "inasmuch as the body of our professed theology is rather patched together of subtle speculations, philosophical quiddities, and winding inferences, than soundly grounded upon the oracles of the Holy Scriptures, diligently examined and sincerely expounded, whereof there is little news stirring among us<sup>b</sup>."

And these were the sources, thus rejected and condemned, from which the creed of the immaculate Church was taken: hence have her priesthood

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<sup>b</sup> "Manifestation of Motives."

gathered their scraps of falsified history and fragments of theology. As was said in the last chapter, the Church of Rome is not only not founded on the revelation of God, but not even on the writings of the early Fathers; there is too much light and truth even in them. But the whole construction of her theology has a single object,—the elevation of her Church as a great temporal power, and of its head as the ruler of the sovereigns of the earth.

When the Bishop was advanced from the see of Segnia to the archbishopric of Dalmatia, and the duties of overseer of the dioceses of his province were committed to his care, he was impressed with the necessity of prosecuting these inquiries from the conduct which the Church of Rome and her emissaries pursued in the new sphere of his duty. Fresh encroachments were almost daily made upon his metropolitical rights. He therefore applied unwearied labour “to discover the foundation of all ecclesiastical degrees, powers, functions, offices, and dignities, and specially to search records to find by what tenure the Papacy holdeth.”

While thus engaged, a circumstance occurred, to which, in “The Manifestation of Motives,” there is but slight allusion, and to which we will more at length refer, because it influenced, in a considerable degree, his secession from the Church of Rome and his journey to England. Besides, as we shall hereafter prove, the unfortunate issue of the events which now occurred at Venice, and the results which were expected to have arisen from them not

having taken place, will also in some degree account for another important event in the life of the Archbishop.

The Reformation had, in those countries which had shaken off the Italian yoke, destroyed the papal prerogative of interference in the civil affairs of kingdoms. Yet on many occasions efforts were made, and sustained too with pertinacity, to exercise this control wherever an adherence was professed to the Roman faith. Immediately after the Archbishop's appointment to the see of Dalmatia, Pope Paul V. laid the republic of Venice under an interdict in the year 1606. He was one of the most haughty and arrogant pontiffs that ever filled the papal chair. The palaces, estates, and other riches possessed by the house of Borghese, are monuments of his excessive nepotism. In express terms he approved of the doctrine of Suarez the Jesuit concerning the murder of kings. He openly assumed the title of Vice-God. The book in which he announced and advocated these opinions was condemned by the Parliament of Paris, and burned by the common executioner. Suarez calmly heard its fate, and repeated with slight change the verses of Ovid,—

*"Parve, nec invideo, sine me, liber, ibis in ignem  
Hei mihi, quid Domino non licet ire tuo."*

It was during this interdict that a Jesuit came to Venice, named Thomas Maria Caraffa. He printed a work on philosophy and divinity, and dedicated it to the Pope with this inscription:—

“Paulo V. Vice Deo Christianæ reipublicæ conservatori acerrimo.” All the people were amazed at this title. But Bedell, who was at this time at Venice, observed that the numeral letters of the first words, “Paulo V. Vice Deo,” made exactly 666, the number of the beast in the Book of Revelation. This was communicated to Paul Sarpi and others, and they informed the Duke and the senate. The announcement was considered as if it were an intimation from heaven that the Pope was anti-christ.

The interdict was imposed by Paul V. on Venice for the following reasons. Two ecclesiastics were prosecuted for capital crimes, and edicts had been issued by the republic for the prevention of the unnecessary increase of religious buildings, and also the great augmentation of the wealth of the clergy. The senate with becoming dignity declared the interdict to be invalid, and banished the Jesuits and Capuchins, who had openly violated the obedience due to the state which had commanded public worship to be celebrated in opposition to the mandate of the imperious Pope. Not contented with stubborn resistance to the usurpation of the Roman court, the senate called into requisition the talents, zeal, and learning of the ablest writers to vindicate the liberties of the Church and people. Among these shone pre-eminently Paul Sarpi, whose *Istoria delle cose passate entre Paul V. et la Repub. di Venetia*, and his *Istoria Interdicti Veneti*, published subsequently at Cambridge in the year 1626

by Bishop Bedell, had secured the independence of the Venetian Church from any interference on the part of Rome that should not first have had the sanction of the senate\*. Baronius and Bellarmine advocated the Pope's assertion of the jurisdiction claimed in the interdict. It was by the advice of Baronius that the Pope had determined to resort to the temporal sword, as all his spiritual weapons had failed. The Cardinal had told him in the consistory, "that there were two things that were said by our Lord to St. Peter. The first was, 'Feed My sheep;' the other, 'Rise and kill;' and as the pontiff had unsuccessfully tried the former in an attempt to feed the flock with interdicts and censures, he was compelled now to arise and kill."

The Venetian writers employed by the senate had attracted the attention not alone of all Italy, but all Europe, to this controversy. For all felt that in it was involved the supremacy of the Pope, and the question of the limits within which it was wise to contract it. The great abilities of those authors, and the good cause in which they were employed, had associated all the sovereigns of Italy in defence of insulted Venice. When the Pope menaced the senate with more dangerous weapons than interdicts and bulls, they generously tendered,

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\* Cardinal Henry Norris in the year 1676 wrote to Magliabocchi in the following terms: "Few papal bulls pass the Po, or approach the coasts of the Adriatic sea. The maxims bequeathed to the Venetians by Fra-Paolo render the passing extremely difficult."

as also did the dukes of Urbino, Modena, and Savoy, their troops and services to the republic. But the prudent pontiff retreated under the mediation of the French king, withdrew the interdict, and absolved the Venetian state from the guilt of stubbornness and schism.

The circumstances attending the administration of the absolution on this occasion is a diverting specimen of the antics of papistical forgiveness. The senate had stubbornly refused to solicit absolution; but the nuncio, to save the Pope's credit, came into the senate-house before the Duke had arrived, and crossed his cushion and thus absolved him.

How easy to obtain remission of sins against the pontiff and the authorities of Rome, at least in the estimation of the Pope's nuncio!

## CHAPTER IV.

**D**URING many years the Archbishop had directed all the vigour of his intellect and the resources of his learning to the project of an union of the reformed Churches with the Church of Rome. In all the varied changes of his life he professed that this object lay very near his heart. While at Venice he and his illustrious friend Paul Sarpi canvassed it ardently and often. He wrote his great work in the hope that he might promote it, and be an instrument in hastening its accomplishment. So long as he remained in England, he clung to the same design with consistent ardour. James I. approved of, and privately, at least, patronized it. He corresponded with Grotius on the same subject, who engaged in it with his single-hearted enthusiasm, and aided its development and success by his genius and his learning. He was eloquently reminded, towards the close of his life, by Bishop Hall, of the earnest advocacy he had employed on the subject\*. He canvassed with zeal, and seemed to love and dwell upon, this favoured theme in his very beautiful and original sermons. He frequently maintained that, above all others, this was the subject most attractive to his religious hopes and long-

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\* Bishop Hall's Works, vol. ix. p. 215, *Epistola discessus sui ad Romam dissuasoria*.

ings; and through all the various and chequered scenes of his life he maintained to its close his fond adherence to this scheme.

As an union of the reformed Church and the Church of Rome engaged the attention of the Archbishop on different occasions and periods of his life, we shall state more circumstantially a few of the reasons that seem to render any such union an impossible event; and, secondly, we shall allude to a few of the instances in which such efforts have been tried and failed. It is unlikely—indeed, it appears to the writer an impossible event—that any reconciliation or adjustment of the creeds of England and Rome can ever be effected while the doctrines of each are so thoroughly and fundamentally opposed. If the members of each be sincere in the maintenance of their respective modes of faith, any coalition is as impossible as the blending together of the most opposite elements. The one Church holds that the Word of God is not only a paramount authority, but the only authority. In the other, the appeal for the interpretation of doctrine is not to the conscience, or the judgment, or the reason, but to a council, or the Pope, or to both combined; and this decision must be submitted to without wavering and without questioning. As a white sheet of paper takes the impression of the printing-press, so the decision of Rome must pass to the mind of her votaries, sentence for sentence, syllable for syllable,—in fact, letter for letter. It is not conscience that makes the impression, for it is not allowed to speak. It



is not reason, for it is heresy to exercise the mind on doctrine, and therefore it is not permitted to think. It is not God's Word, for the Church forbids it to be read. Nor is it the voice of the Spirit, for it is infatuation to believe that, being unseen, it can instruct the mind. But it is some undefined impression that God's revealed law has not declared, nor God's law of reason, nor His law of conscience, which under all dispensations, modes of teaching, or plans of government, maintains its ascendancy, as if it were the shadow of His presence in the soul, that lingers in human nature everywhere under all modifications of education and religion. But it is the imprint of a powerful machine upon a dead or sluggish body, that has neither faith, nor reason, nor conscience to direct or govern it. It takes its features from the inanimate body that prints them on the mind. It is, in truth, Rome reigning in majesty and victory over the prostrate intellects and bodies of men, over the religion that God gives, and over the freedom that man has taken away. The intellect is thus, as it were, frozen up against inquiry. In truth, inquiry upon religion is a sense not given or sanctioned by the Church of Rome. The language in which it is conveyed is an unknown tongue. The happiness it inspires is for the saints and seraphim of another sphere. Thus human authority supersedes divine government; the decree of earthly tribunals is placed above the law of God. As man is thus elevated to the place and sovereignty of Jehovah,

he naturally and necessarily assumes the direction and education of the mind which had been assigned and belongs to the Holy Spirit. Thus man is raised above the condition which God had decreed him to walk in. Thus the fiat of a creature cancels the appointments of the Creator. Thus man is driven for knowledge, for instruction, and for comfort to the moles and bats of the papal system; and thus is obliterated the promise which the God of mercy and of glory has made to sinful man, "For thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy; I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones<sup>b</sup>."

This mode of dealing with the Word and authority of God not only interferes with, but ultimately annihilates, the relation which should exist between man and his Maker. It drains off his thoughts and affections from thinking on and feeling towards God as the first cause. For he is gradually seduced to consider himself as committed to the guardianship of subordinate agents, either angels or men. Therefore he interprets the whole of the divine proceedings respecting him as the priests of his Church decide. No prayers without human interference pass direct from the heart to the throne of grace; and in the operation of being stopped, as it were, on their way, all the honour and reve-

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<sup>b</sup> Isa. lvii. 16.

rence, on the one hand, and all the consolation and comfort on the other, are lost. There is not glory to God in the highest, nor on earth peace to man. Even the prayers which are primarily directed to Jehovah and His blessed Son are first sanctioned with this limit appended to them, that they may be used by ecclesiastical authority. There is no unmixed, unfettered communication or communion between God and the creature, between the Redeemer and the redeemed, for not even are the favours or bounty of God acknowledged to be received without the Church's intermeddling with the gift.

But in the Church of England the governing body have interpreted the doctrines of the Word of God. These are registered in her articles and formularies of faith. Her members are required to believe them, not because the Church has registered and declared them, but because each person's examination of the Bible is supposed to have eventuated in an acquiescence with the decisions of the Church. Thus God's revelation and man's personal responsibility are distinctly set forth, the one as admitting no other authority to decide any doctrine but His own blessed Word, the other as establishing that no one is permitted to stand between the sinner and his judge, except the Redeemer, none to share his accountability, none to intercede, except in prayer, and none to pardon. Therefore each individual is directly answerable for his creed to God. There can be no intermediate person or

object, in church, or minister, or ceremony, on whom or on which he can lay the weight of his conscience or the obligations of his creed. It is the Almighty God and sinful man. It is the merciful Redeemer and he who needs redemption. It is the word of Jehovah and the faith of the suppliant, that have to do the one with the other. But the policy of Rome and the whole machinery of her complicated system is to elevate her priesthood above the ordained position of a servant, and a teacher of what is revealed. And as knowledge has advanced beyond its ancient bounds, and become as universal as the light of heaven, unfounded, or strange, or false systems are more carefully examined and more easily detected and exposed. To continue the schemes of deception which had been practised for ages, it is now necessary to pretend that the revelation of God to man has been extended and enlarged. From hence has sprung the invention of the modern doctrine of development. But what the additions made to the revealed Word are, or from whence derived, or upon whom conferred, there is no appreciable sign or intimation given, to mark or consecrate the heavenly gift to the service of man. As in the case of our Lord's personal miracles, there are no external intimations vouchsafed by which credibility of this new knowledge can be tested for public satisfaction. It is conveyed in secret. It is preserved in secret. No miracle attends and attests the gift. We are told, on the authority of witnesses whom we do not see,

nor even know, that enlargements to these new powers are occasionally conferred, as the necessities of the Church require, or her priesthood may demand, for the illumination of the people. And that is, whenever it is needful for the purposes of deception either to magnify her strength to delude the public, or gratify the restless spirit of inquiring but still unsatisfied minds.

In contradistinction of this unsatisfactory promulgation of God's law to His creatures, each and every doctrine and office of the Church of England explains and displays different parts of the divine revelation. The voice of God is heard in all her services, and she knows and teaches no doctrine that is not found in His Word. And therefore naturally the question arises in the mind, If the Bible contained sufficient knowledge for the salvation of mankind before the additions which tradition has made to it, what is the use of the tales of monks and friars, and the other sorcerers in deception? What is the need of these lately discovered riches, and the still fertile treasury of the inexhaustible resources of development? Was not man the same, and sin the same, and the Redeemer the same, from the beginning, and will they not continue in their respective characters the same to the end of time? Are there periods when sin will be less deadly, or the Saviour more forgiving?

It is not my purpose to undertake any general examination of the questions that have been so long in controversy with the Church of Rome. I wish

simply to point out a few of the more striking causes which utterly prevent any union of the Church of Rome and the Church of England. For this purpose, some remarks may be useful in reference to the position to which the Virgin Mary has been elevated.

The world was converted and continued Christian without her name being once mentioned as connected with this marvellous revolution, in the New Testament. From the commencement of its history in the Acts of the Apostles to the close of the inspired volume, the name never occurs but once, and then simply as "Mary the mother of Jesus." Yet the Acts of the Apostles recounts the foundation of the Christian Church: for in it are the sermons of the Apostles, and the divine counsel given by them for its management, and feeding the flock of Christ. All the Churches founded by them were left in complete and entire darkness as to her claims upon their affection and homage. In all the Epistles addressed to the various bodies converted by the doctrines they taught, the name of the Virgin Mary never shared even the honour, as it were, of casual recollection, not even in Rome, the boasted city of her triumphs. And if the Apostles were neglectful of recording any portion of the veneration which modern religionists have bestowed upon her, the name is even not remembered in the Book of Revelation, that wonderful description of the future destiny of the Church. Yet if the high place assigned her by the Church of Rome in their

prayers, and worship, and liturgies be correct, if not only of all created beings she takes her place as first, and almost in conjunction with the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as one to be propitiated, that she may interfere and interpose in the salvation of the soul, it cannot be accounted for, that in all the history of the early Church, and in the last prophetic announcement of its triumphant glories, the name of the Virgin Mary is banished from the Bible by the silence of inspiration. And while that book concludes in its last verse with the words, "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book;" yet the worship of her is added to the doctrines of the New Testament, without even an attempted proof that it can be found there.

The Church of England, on the contrary, models her doctrines, her worship, and her prayers simply according to the teaching of the Bible. She makes our blessed Lord, in connection with the atonement of sin, the sole representative and agent of the salvation of the human race. All the means necessary to produce and cultivate the worship of the Redeemer in the soul which His wondrous act of love in sacrificing Himself inspires, He supplies out of the resources of Himself, unbidden or uninvited by the intercessions or the prayers of the Virgin Mary, or the saints, or angels. Our Lord needs no excitement to provoke Him to acts of love. He

had no incentive of prayer, or praise, or homage, or honour, to awaken or interest Him to perform the amazing sacrifice of Himself,—an act that never can be surpassed or equalled in all the future history of the inhabitants of the earth,—that unspeakable devotion to the good of others, for which the sons of God shouted for joy, when self-moved He undertook to die on the cross. He would not have been the Saviour of man, if love had not been a prevailing principle of the Godhead. It humanizes Christ in heaven to suggest that He is influenced by motives that only belong to earth. His incomparable act of love had its exemplification once in this world. After its display He maintained the same isolation in the character of the Son of God, as He did on earth in the character of the Redeemer, the Son of Man. He had no fellow in either. He had no more a partner or assistant in exciting His love in heaven to offer Himself as the propitiation for the human race, than He has now in awakening His tender mercies towards them. He needs no intercessions, no moving stories, no offices of saints or angels to prompt Him to mercy, or to tutor Him in the outpourings of His love. From its measureless resources He gives forth a boundless supply to all those that call upon Him in prayer. To suppose that to induce Him thus to act He requires the intercessions of an angel, is to place the salvation of the human race at the disposal of a glorified creature.

Every approximation to any such interpretation



of His doctrines as associated the Virgin Mary even most remotely with Himself in connexion with His character as Redeemer, He most sedulously discarded. For instance, when "a certain woman of the company lifted up her voice, and said unto Him, Blessed is the womb that bare Thee, and the paps that Thou hast sucked," our Lord answered, "Yea *rather*, blessed are they that hear the Word of God, and keep it<sup>4</sup>." As if He had said, The humblest followers of the Gospel are more blessed than she who was My earthly parent. Even she will derive more blessing as a follower of Christ crucified, than any honour she is heir to as the Virgin Mother. "For whosoever shall do the will of My Father which is in heaven, the same is My brother, and sister, and mother\*."

But contrary to all this, the Church of Rome trains the mind to regard the Virgin Mary as the agent in educating the heart for Christ, and thus necessarily confuses, as well in the understanding as in the faith of the worshippers, the character of the God-Man. She mixes up the office which has been unscripturally deputed to her with the worship of the Redeemer; as if the homage paid to Him were the necessary consequence of the prayers addressed to her. But it ought carefully to be remembered that the Virgin Mary is no participator in the adulteration of the truth of God by the mistaken homage or veneration which her votaries pay

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<sup>4</sup> Luke xi. 27, 28.

\* Matt. xii. 50.

to her. On the contrary, she utterly rejects and disowns the appropriateness of such devotion, and, in truth, her own words rebuke those that offer it. As the Church of Rome believes in her Immaculate Conception, what meaning does she affix to these words, "My spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour?" If she were immaculate or without sin, our blessed Lord could not be her Saviour. She had no sin, if these words were true, which He could expiate, and it was for the forgiveness of sin only that she could rejoice in Him as her Saviour.

But these views have not the sanction of the revealed law, nor indeed of ancient usage. In truth, they have obtained currency from the neglect of the Word of God, and the decay or disparagement of His truth is the consequence. But these doctrines respecting the Virgin Mary, though not found in the written Word, may yet be traced, it is said, in ancient times, near the age in which she lived. It is supposed by some that antiquity infers truth, as then the preaching of the Gospel is declared to have been more free from human invention. There might in that case, as the casuist insinuates, be some plausible appearance, or however unjustly alleged, some perplexing approach to a reason, for the continuance and perpetuation of the honours bestowed upon her. But on the contrary, the ecclesiastical records repeat the truth which the Word of God and common sense aver, that Rome is the inventor of her own creed, and that its peculiar doctrines are not discoverable except in

Churches and places which have been under the sway of her power or the influence of her teaching. For instance, in the Churches found on the coast of Malabar, with which the Christian world had been generally unacquainted for centuries, we know that the Hindoo Christians maintained the order and discipline of a regular Church under episcopal jurisdiction, and had continued for thirteen hundred years under the government of the Patriarch of Antioch', and there is no record of any of the peculiarities of the Romish faith being in any way recognised. How can such a fact as this be accounted for, if the creed of Rome is the creed which the Bible teaches. The creed of the one is laden with stories of the Virgin Mary. The Book of God, in the account of all the Churches founded on the faith of Christ, is perfectly silent respecting her.

These are some of the reasons which have made a reconciliation on the part of the maintainers of the reformed faith with the Church of Rome impossible in times past, and will continue in all times to come to produce the same result. Such are the necessary consequences of the darkness in which the mind is enveloped by a system of teaching which raises the creature into the place and authority of the Godhead, and confers on a woman the rifled attributes that belong to Divinity alone; which abolishes and repeals the fiat of inspiration, and supplies its place by the adulterated maxims

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<sup>1</sup> Buchanan's Christian Researches, pp. 100, 248.

and policy of human inventions; which makes the Son of God the equal only, and sometimes, as it were, the subordinate register of His humble Mother's deeds of miraculous interference; which attributes to the priests of the Church of Rome a greater miracle than ever our Lord Himself performed, for His miracles were appreciable to the senses,—the water did become wine, the dead Lazarus rose and walked; but in the Romish invention of transubstantiation the wine remains wine, and yet is declared to be actually blood; the bread continues to be bread, and yet is the actual body of our Lord Jesus Christ. Now would the ruler of the feast at the marriage in Cana of Galilee, when—

“The modest water felt the power divine,  
Confessed the God, and blushed itself to wine,”

have said he had tasted the water that was made wine, if it had continued to be water? Or when our Lord said, “Lazarus come forth, and he that was dead came forth,” would the Jews have believed in Him if he that was dead had not come forth? Yet apparently, or so far as overcoming impossibilities increases to our senses the wonders of a miracle, a greater miracle than the one at the marriage in Cana or the one at the grave of Lazarus is performed continually by the priests of the Church of Rome. For they have power to persuade the people that though no change takes place in the wine and the bread, yet that a miracle is performed; that is, they demand daily less from

man than the Jews did from God, to verify that they exercise powers that were above or contrary to nature.

We therefore need not tax our ingenuity to discover the reason that there is no doctrine, or ceremony, or duty, or right that the clergy of the Church of Rome are so nervously sedulous for the promotion of their designs and policy to carry into universal observance, as that the Holy Scriptures shall not be read by the members of their Church. For to read the Word of God would be the uprooting of what in their present belief is the Church of God.

These reasons alone seem sufficiently strong to prevent any union between the Church of England and of Rome. We shall now proceed briefly to inquire the cause of failure in some of the cases in which an effort has been made to bring the experiment to a propitious conclusion.

It is known that Cassander, and afterwards Casaubon, had early made efforts in this undertaking and failed. But the most celebrated instance occurred in the reign of Louis XIV.\* For many years previously, the clergy of France had claimed what were called the liberties of the Gallican Church. To terrify or cajole the Church to renounce these anti-pontifical privileges, the force of authority or the more attractive schemes of artifice were suc-

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\* See the case of the Régale and Pontificate, *Leslie's Works*, vol. i. p. 503.

cessively employed. Neither terror nor seduction prevailed. Even the Circæan snares of the Jesuits had lost on this occasion the charms of illusion. Though the Jansenist bishops of Aleth and Pamiers appealed to Innocent XI. and resisted the extension of the *régle* to their sees, the Parliament of Paris disconcerted every stratagem. The talent, the learning, the spirit of freedom, nay, the religion of France, exposed the monstrous aggression. The Church united in determined refusal to relinquish their liberties to the Pope. Sometimes concessions were granted, but immediately they were revoked. The Church vacillated between dubious attachment and a public denial of the supreme jurisdiction of the Roman court. But Louis by his uncompromising decision renounced the interference of the humbled pontiff, and durably fixed the Gallican liberties of the Church. This was effected by a stern denial of the Pope's authority to intercept the intended benefit of these privileges or retard their exercise. He first reduced the head of the Church as a temporal prince to the ignominious degradation of erecting a pyramid in his own capital, with an inscription that commemorated the audacious act of the Corsican guards in insulting the French ambassador, and to exhibit an evidence of the exemplary and vigorous manner in which he had been chastised by the monarch of France. But Louis feared the head of the Church as little as he did the ruler of the ecclesiastical state; for in the year 1678 he claimed the right called in France the *régle*, of dis-

posing of the revenues and fruits of vacant bishoprics. The pontiff refused his assent to the demand. The usual armoury of anathemas, bulls, and proclamations were summoned to the conflict; the King maintained and insisted on his claims. When the Pope refused to induct the bishops whom the King had nominated, other bishops of France complied with the royal order. Thus ended the dispute to the discomfiture of the pontiff. Being now resolved to reform, or rather to assert, the prescriptive rights of the Gallican Church, he summoned a convocation of bishops. These assembled in Paris in 1682. At this meeting the following resolutions were adopted by all present, and proposed to the whole body of the clergy and to all the Universities throughout the kingdom, as a sacred and inviolable rule of faith<sup>a</sup>:—

“I. That neither St. Peter nor his successors have received from God any power to interfere, directly or indirectly, in what concerns the temporal interests of princes and sovereign states; that kings and princes cannot be deposed by ecclesiastical authority, nor their subjects freed from their sacred allegiance by the power of the Church, or the bulls of the Roman pontiff.

“II. That the decrees of the Council of Constance, which maintained the authority of general councils, as

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<sup>a</sup> Thirty years ago, M. de Frayssinous, Bishop of Hermopolis, and First Almoner of Charles X., was a defender of the liberties of the Gallican Church. In 1855 the Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux was ready to condemn the opinions of Bossuet! Among the wonders of revolution that have taken place in France this is perhaps the most miraculous!

superior to that of the Pope in spiritual matters, are approved and adopted by the Gallican Church.

"III. That the rules, customs, institutions, and observances which have been received in the Gallican Church, are to be preserved inviolable.

"IV. That the decisions of the Pope, in points of faith, are not infallible, unless they be attended with the consent of the Churches."

Such was the apparently propitious state of the Church in France, when the project was entertained of an union with the Church of England. The learned and liberal Du Pin was the principal agent in the movement. His opinion was that this reconciliation might be effected without consulting the Roman pontiff: he said, he "may be informed of the union when it is accomplished, and may be desired to consent to it. If he consent to it, the affair will then be settled, but even without his consent the union will be valid."

The learned historian of the Church was either ignorant of the Pope's power or his willingness to exert it. And herein was the wisdom of Archbishop Wake exhibited: he foresaw the probability of a successful issue not being realized; therefore he suggested that the first question settled, and the first concession made, ought to be on the part of the Church of Rome, by a denial or renunciation of the assumed authority of the Pope. Du Pin sent a *commonitorium* on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England to the Archbishop. Though he had said in the commencement of this



business, "*Utinam Christiani omnes essent unum ovile*," yet the chief and most offensive doctrines were maintained as points of faith on which no concession could be made. He vindicates the retention of tradition, as a necessary guard to defend the sacred Scriptures; he dwells with affectionate tenderness on the supererogation of works; he generously allows in a conceding spirit "that the word may be cancelled, provided it be owned that the faithful do some such works;" he would allow that general councils may err. With respect to purgatory, for which, though there is not a rational pretence made, or a plausible supposition suggested, that it has any foundation in the canonical Scriptures, he nevertheless assumed that the doctrine is true, because souls must be purged from the defilement of sin before they are admitted to celestial bliss. But he did not remember, or he did not know, that the Word of God plainly declares that this is effected for the faithful by the atonement of our blessed Lord. And with respect to the death of Christ, he alleges in his observation on the Twenty-eighth Article that the sacrifice He made is not only commemorated, but continued, in the Eucharist, and that every communicant offers Him along with the priest.

This correspondence was carried on under the most favourable circumstances to ensure success. Yet this very learned man, and, as he has ever been considered to be, this most liberal-minded priest of the Church of Rome, deemed it impossible for his Church to relinquish tradition, works of supereroga-

tion, purgatory, transubstantiation, and the perpetuation of Christ's sacrifice, as well as some other tenets.

How vain, then, to talk of an union of the enlightened Church of England with Rome, this patroness of ignorance and darkness! Would it not be more correct to describe such a proposal as a repeal of the glorious Reformation, as the obliteration of the right of dissent from what is false, untrue, and contrary to God's Word, and as the re-establishment throughout the earth of the Church of Rome, and if in all the ancient grandeur of imperial pre-eminence, yet at the same time in all the blackness and darkness of the most benighted age of her history.

The wily and ambitious Cardinal Richelieu, at a period previous to this, was an advocate for an union of the Protestants of France with the Church of Rome. He hoped that what he seemed so anxious to obtain would be refused by the Pope; he knew that this proposition would have been received with universal approbation: the rejection of it he would have used as an attractive subject to enflame the dissatisfaction of the people against the court of Rome. A rupture, as the Cardinal supposed, would have been the result between the Church in France and the Pope. And this disagreement he would have contrived to make the reasonable ground for the creation of a patriarchate, and he thought it probable that the exercise of his ingenuity would be the means of securing to himself the appointment to this elevated position.

Grotius deemed it a probable event that Richelieu

would have succeeded in this ambitious speculation. For in writing to Chancellor Oxenstern in July, 1638, he expresses himself to this effect:—"There are persons who suppose that Cardinal Richelieu will rise from these beginnings, and will claim for himself the patriarchal authority, which is almost that of a Pope." And in a letter of March, 1640, he says,—“A very libellous pamphlet is circulated here against the Cardinal, accusing him of a design to effect a schism from the Roman see. Among other things, it is objected against him that he allows Christian truth to be taught by men who are not in the Church.”

To promote these designs of the Cardinal, a conference was arranged by his artful management between the Jesuit Audebert and M. Amyraut, the professor of divinity at Saumur. Before the meeting, the Jesuit had intimated that Roman Catholics would sacrifice to peace the invocation of saints and creatures, purgatory, and the merit of works, and that the Pope's power should be limited; and if the court of Rome should refuse to consent, they would take occasion from thence to create a patriarch, and that the cup should be given to the laity. Several other concessions were proposed. But when M. Amyraut mentioned the doctrine of the Eucharist, Audebert declared “that they were determined to make no alteration in that.” When this announcement was made, M. Amyraut replied, “that if so, there was an end of the affair.”

Another instance of failure occurred in the interview between the learned and highly accomplished

Leibnitz<sup>1</sup>, a member of the Lutheran Church, and Bossuet, the polished and subtle champion of the Gallican liberties. Bossuet announced that the Church of Rome was prepared to make concessions in points of discipline, and explain doctrines; but he declared he would make no concession in the defined articles of faith, and especially in any that had been sanctioned by the Council of Trent. This clearly shews that any opportunity which the Church of Rome concedes for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation, her real design is to cajole the Protestant into the bosom of Popery. In fact, she jesuitically promised to explain, but yet superstitiously cherished her benighted creed. When Bossuet himself, the eloquent champion of the Gallican Church, so free in her constitution by reason of the *régale*, admits that no concession would be made, nor any reconciliation to the Reformed faith permitted that was forbidden by the registered opinions of the Council of Trent, who can hope that any union can ever be effected with a Church modelled after so perverse and distorted an interpreter of the truth?

Bossuet was engaged in another trial of conciliation with M. Claude, which is worth recording for a happy reply of the reformer. Bossuet resisted the right, which is strongly contended for by all Protestant communities, that every individual inherits the privilege of which no priest or Church

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<sup>1</sup> See a beautiful character of Leibnitz in the Abbé Raynal's *History of India*, vol. vi, pp. 467, 468.

has authority to deprive him, of reading the Word of God. The champion of the Church of Rome asserted that the exercise of such a privilege must be accompanied by the greatest presumption; it was, in fact, the opinion of one man against the voice of the Church. M. Claude denied the justice of the charge of presumption, for when the assembled synagogue declared that Jesus Christ was not the Messiah, would not an individual who asserted that He was the promised seed of David have judged better than the synagogue?

In this unsuccessful field of controversy, the union of the Churches, Grotius laboured long and earnestly. He employed all his genius and all his learning to promote, as he deemed it, the cause of peace and truth. But a change came over his enthusiastic nature when he perceived the arts and treachery of Richelieu. The dupes of the Cardinal's ambition, who sought only their own advancement by promoting his selfish designs, at last taught him this lesson. For when Oxenstern, the chancellor of Sweden, nominated him as ambassador of France, he was nearer to the seat of mischief, and could distinctly discern all the machinery that was at work. It was set in motion for the plausible promotion of religion; yet all the parties were self-seekers and deceitful. He penetrated the designs of the Cardinal; he saw that he, as well as the champions of Rome, while indeed they were pretending to seek a change in religion, were moderate and conciliatory, but he had the judgment to dis-

cern that they would have been merciless and false if they had ultimately succeeded. He saw, too, the pliant and flexible nature of Roman Catholic institutions, and the opportunity which they afforded for the introduction of mischievous innovations. The path to gratify a high ambition which was thus opened to the aspiring hopes of Cardinal Richelieu disgusted his single-minded and generous nature. Long had he hoped against hope, but the treachery of worldly hearts made him at first to falter, and at last to despair of success, and he resigned the fruitless occupation of attempting a reconciliation between the doctrines of the Reformed faith, which were founded on the Word of God, and the creed of the Church of Rome, which was the echo of the inventions of man<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> On the 13th of December, 1635, Grotius thus writes to Camerarius, the Swedish ambassador at the Hague:—"I perceive a yearly, nay, a daily increase both of superstition and of the Pope's kingdom, to the grief even of those who, having been born in that communion, remain members of it. A book has lately been published concerning the scapular of the Carmelites, which gives an assured promise to those who die in this habit that they cannot possibly be damned, and that they will not ever be dragged about in purgatory beyond the first Saturday after their decease.

"Another book has likewise been published, which ascribes to Mary the prayer addressed to God, with no other change than the gender of the words, thus, 'Our *Mother*, who art in heaven,' and so on to the end of the prayer."

## CHAPTER V.

**T**HE Archbishop of Spalatro had made known to Bedell his determination to seek an asylum in England. He had now been fourteen years in his present see, having been appointed in 1602. We have already mentioned that he received with gratitude the commendations that Bedell suggested in his work *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*. From the intimacy of these eminent divines the happiest results were expected to ensue. They discussed together the doctrines and ceremonies of the Church of Rome. The jurisdiction, too, at that time exercised by the pontiff, as well in the affairs of state as those connected with religion, were examined with intense interest at Venice. Thus the doubts which the Archbishop's previous investigations had excited as to the apostolicity of the creed and power of the Pope had been confirmed. He therefore formed the resolution of abandoning his high position, and seeking an asylum in England more congenial to his inquiring mind. He was more sanguine than Paul Sarpi, for he knew the power and the plans, or perhaps, indeed, the treachery, that the court of Rome would adopt to ensure the success of their policy. Besides, he understood, better than the Archbishop, the weakness and un-

steadfastness of all human resolutions ; for there is reason to believe that when Henry IV. of France interposed as mediator, and adjusted the controversy between the Pope and the republic of Venice, that De Dominis did not consider that the seeds of discontent then so extensively, and, indeed, so enthusiastically, implanted in the minds of the people could ever have been eradicated, but that some future occasion would tend to revive their smothered power. On the other hand, Paul Sarpi considered that the most attractive way to bring over converts to the truth was by taking off their minds from the abuses of their Church, and sowing the seeds that might be fruitful in another age. But the Archbishop conceived that the time was near at hand for a general secession from Rome ; at least that a reunion might be effected of the Protestant Churches with her he thought highly probable, on the ground of a liberal improvement in everything connected with discipline and doctrine.

The Archbishop thus describes the manner in which the meaner tribe of writers espoused the cause of Rome, as well as the general impression which the controversy made upon himself :—

“Not long after this cometh forth the interdict denounced by the Pope against the renowned state of Venice, during which thunderclap the Romanizing pamphlets did fly abroad and cry aloud against the whole rabble of the masterless bishops of the Venetian dominions, railing and raging against us for brutish mon-



sters of men, void of all reverence, science, conscience. Then I, poor worm, thus trampled on, begin to turn again, and to use the weapon of just defence, and on this occasion am anew sharply whetted to search out the true estate and grounds of that memorable controversy. For this purpose, I turn my books, travel through the whole extent of the sacred canons, all orthodox councils, venerable discipline and laudable customs of the ancient Catholic Church."

'The effect of this remarkable search upon his mind is most eloquently rehearsed, and presents a picture so faithful in every feature of the usurpations of the Roman Church, that I shall afford the reader the pleasure of perusing it himself:—

"And now, mine eyes being thus opened, I could easily by that daylight perceive that the doctrine of those many Churches, which, because Rome holds them for enemies, we are bound to bespatter with invectives, and our doctors to batter with arguments, doth indeed little or nothing swerve from the most ancient faith of the purest times; and that the same is at Rome and here among us rather beaten out of doors and banished, with spiteful detestation, than condemned upon any lawful conviction, finding this hard treatment not as being upon trial proved a bastard imp of heresy, but because it cannot bear construction with the Pope's cabal, nor consort with the infamous corruptions of the court of Rome, wholly degenerated into a temporal monarchy. I now plainly perceived that at Rome a mint is set up, which daily goeth for coining new articles of faith, sans number; which prerogative both wanteth lawful patent, having no other plea than intrusion, and forcible intrusion, and is employed upon too base a metal, namely, such positions as contain not only no matter of faith, but also manifest falsehood; yet such base alloy as this they

thrust for current upon the Christian world, and are so far from suffering it to come to the touchstone of due and free consultation of the Church, or to the balance of disputation, that they reply with fire and sword upon all that dare but whisper against them. Thus Rome has long since, by overbearing and crushing the sacred councils, put out the eyes of our holy mother Church, who now, having lost her sight, her strength, and her liberty, like captive Samson, undergoeth the scorn of her surprisers, and groaneth, poor souls, under the mill of the Philistines. There was a time when this went for an article of faith, that the universal Church dispersed upon the face of the earth is that Catholic Church of Christ to which He promised His perpetual assistance, and which St. Paul calleth the pillar and ground of truth; now-a-days our masters at Rome have shrunk this article into a narrower compass, so that now by the Catholic Church must be understood the court of Rome; now we must without wavering believe that in this consistency, and nowhere else, nay, in the breast of the Pope, there is erected a monopoly of the spirit of the Saviour. And whatsoever privileges and honourable titles have in elder times been daily afforded to the universal Church of Christ, now must with might and main be translated over and appropriated to the Church of Rome, though with robbing and wronging the public; now the stamp of an article of faith is set upon many new devised fancies, whereof our Saviour never was the ordainer, and whereby Christian souls are pitifully deceived, and so the blind flocks with their blind guides run headlong into the pit of perdition. These and other like considerations have for divers years afflicted my careful soul, and do yet encompass my heart with incredible sorrows."

During these researches, he commenced the com-

position of his great work, *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*, on which he employed ten years' labour; it is divided into ten parts, each part embracing some branch of doctrine or discipline in which the Church of Rome has departed from the standard of the Scriptures and the practice of the primitive Church. The necessary result of these convictions now entertained by him of the corruptions of the Roman Church, was the determination to fly from her power and vengeance; for if he had resolved to govern the diocese committed to his care according to the ancient Catholic discipline, every exertion which tyranny and bigotry could employ would have been called into requisition to persecute him as a heretic. The court of Rome had long suspected him, and the Pope's nuncio had several times demanded explanations of things said and done by him. He felt that bishops were no longer possessed of the authority of their office:—

"The government of every particular church," he says, "and diocese, is fled from home and wafted to the seven-hilled city. . . . Legates and nuncios, inquisitors and visitors, and the infinite rabble of the regular orders, not only disputed the authority of bishops, but superseded and suspended their power. . . . The Church is indeed a vineyard, but employed only for making our father Noah drunk. It is a flock, but provided only for this shepherd's profit, to squeeze out the milk till the very blood come, to shear their fleeces, nay, to shave them to the quick, nay, to flay, to slay, and devour the poor sheep at his pleasure."

We have said that the great object which the

Archbishop had set his mind upon was the union of the Churches, and this he most enthusiastically pursued. We shall insert a few extracts from his great work, *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*, to shew how diligently he laboured at this fruitless project; and this is a most material point to set in its true light, for it tends much to account for his subsequently altered feelings towards the Church of England:—

“Of my ten forenamed books of Church-weal, the principal aim and intent is that the errors of the Roman faction may be laid open to the world, that the truth and soundness of Catholic faith, doctrine, and discipline may be declared, those many Churches which the Church of Rome hath cast off and kicked out may be held for Catholic; finally, that the way of uniting all the Churches of Christ may be afar off designed and pointed at, if not merely demonstrated, if so be that by any means it may come to pass that we may all say and think the same thing, that distractions and schisms may be extinguished, and Christian princes may have no such pretences, as usually they now-a-days draw from diversity of religion, to plot mutual mischiefs one against another, and to trouble the common peace of Christendom with causeless, unreasonable, and ungodly wars; but that they rather bend their joint forces for the restoring unto their ancient liberty those Christian Churches which long have and still are like to groan under the heavy yoke of miscreant tyrants.

“For my particular, my intent and desire is, that this my, whether my departure, or escape, or flight out of Babylon, be so even carried that no just imputation of schismatical singularity may stick to it. I forsake errors, I shun abuses and corruptions; these and nothing else I fly, lest I should partake with the sins, and consequently

the plagues of Babylon. Nevertheless, I do not, neither will, disjoin myself from that common bond of charity, wherein I am obliged to the holy Catholic Church, and to every member of it; but as much as in me lieth, I am ready to join in perpetual communion with all Christians, so long as we accord in the essential of our faith, and in profession of the creeds of the ancient Church of Christ. But with this condition, that it may be free to us on all sides to reject and abhor all new-coined articles of faith, either flat contrary to the Holy Scriptures, or any way repugnant to the said general creeds; as also that we are not bound to admit as articles of faith such positions as, being in themselves indifferent, have never yet been sufficiently debated and determined by the Church, until such time as they shall be fully resolved, or well proved to have been already resolved. And finally, that we be not so hardy to condemn as heretical any such controverted points, unless it appear that the same have been already lawfully condemned by the Church, or hereafter shall be condemned. In God's Name, let each particular, in points indifferent and undecided, enjoy her liberty, both for matter of opinion and for manner of practice. Let every of them abound in their private judgment, until the Catholic Church, by the guidance and government of the Spirit of Christ, shall make an end of the controversies, and with the winnow sever the chaff from the solid grain."

Upon the publication of the "Motives" of the Archbishop for resigning the see of Dalmatia and seeking an asylum in England, every ingenious and subtle device was put into operation by the Pope to discourage, and, if possible, prevent its circulation. The love of religious liberty, as well as of civil freedom, had been early planted in the hearts

of the Venetians. Indeed, the one naturally and necessarily produces the other. The late rupture of the Venetian senate with the Vatican made the court of Rome exceedingly vigilant to suppress whatever might have any tendency to rekindle the desire which thousands felt to secede from the Church. That a prelate so distinguished for ability and learning as the Archbishop had deserted her folds, announced the reasons of his secession, and then branded on the popedom the corruptions that disfigured the face of Christianity,—these various circumstances, on the one hand, elevated the hopes of all in whose hearts there continued still to linger a love of truth; while on the other, the conscious terror that the exposure of the deformities which blackened the character of the ministers of the Church, and of the impurity which was spread over the simplicity of the Gospel, roused the Pope to put forth the full vigour of his authority and the full range of artful management, to prevent the works of the Archbishop effecting the purpose for which, as well as his own justification, they were so eminently calculated to effect.

A decree was therefore issued with all the speed that the workers in iniquity—and they are never slothful in their occupation—could command. In this decree\*, published on the 12th of November,

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\* "Decretum Sacre congregationis Illustri. S. R. E. Cardinalium a S. D. N. Paulo Papa V. Sanctaque sede Apostolica ad Indicem Librorum eorundemque permissionem, prohibitionem, expurgationem et impressionem in universa Republica Christiana specialiter deputationem ubique publicandum."

the "Manifestation of Motives," which had only reached Venice on the 23rd of the preceding month, and also the great work of the Archbishop, *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*, though not yet published, were both condemned. The lords of the Vatican took time by the forelock; there seemed to be the highest wisdom in the greatest haste. Though they had no knowledge of the contents of this book, except so far as their suspicions supplied them, "they did downright damn and prohibit it." As such edicts are not commonly seen, we shall describe the modest emblems under which the authority of the Pope is represented by a picture at the head of the decree.

There is an image of St. Peter with the keys in his hand, then the armorial bearings of Pope Paul the Fifth, and a figure of St. Paul with the sword of power. The Pope stands between St. Peter and St. Paul. The device suggests as its explanation, 'I will preach to you first, and if disobedient, I will punish you then. I will either banish you from the Church by excommunication, or bring you into subjection by bodily severities.' To the Index of condemned books is prefixed a preface, in which the reasons are stated that induced the Cardinals to publish the decree. One passage is given as a sample of the spirit which pervades the whole:—

"The sacred congregation of Cardinals of the holy Church of Rome, having observed that there have been published certain books, the names whereof are hereunder

specified, very pernicious, and full of innumerable heresies, errors, blasphemies, and slanders; and lest greater mischiefs should, by the undernamed books, redound upon the whole Christian commonwealth, the said congregation hath adjudged them, in special, to be condemned and prohibited; and so by this present edict doth downright damn and prohibit them, wheresoever, or in what language soever, either already printed, or hereafter to be printed. And commandeth that from henceforth no man, of what degree or state whatever, be so hardy as to print, or cause them to be imprinted, or in any wise to keep them by him, or to read them, under the penalties mentioned in that behalf in the holy Council of Trent, as also in the index of prohibited books. Enjoining likewise, under the same penalties, that whosoever now hath, or hereafter shall have the said books, do forthwith upon notice of this present day yield them up to the local ordinaries or inquisitors."

The power here claimed is one confessed and submitted to by every Roman Catholic. It is exerted by every priest of the Church of Rome. For he demands that even the holy Bible shall not be kept in the house without the sanction of the local ordinary or inquisitor. That office is filled by the priest of the parish, and the permission is never granted to read the Word of God, except upon very rare occasions.

It is remarkable that among the books here condemned one is, "The Humble Supplication of Roger Widdrington, an English Catholic, unto our most Holy Lord Pope Paul the Fifth." Now what was the humble supplication to the Pope that is de-



nounced in the decree? That the petitioner might take the oath of allegiance to his sovereign! And this prayer the Pope refused to grant. Therefore he vindicated the necessity of every monarch insisting on the pledge of fealty from his subjects, and the propriety and justice of every subject submitting to so equitable a requirement. He reprobates the invasive tyranny of the Pope, that craves an interference not only over the conscience of Roman Catholics as it respects spiritual matters, but also that in the desire of establishing an universal temporal monarchy, he stands between the lawful king and his subjects, and thus arrogates to himself the privilege of being the sole sovereign of the earth. The condemnation of a book vindicating opinions so justifiable as these, even in the seventeenth century, is ample evidence that it is not intellectual or religious toleration that has induced the court of Rome to relax the rule, if in truth it be relaxed, which sanctions the subjects of the sovereign of England in taking the oath of allegiance. When it is considered that the author of this book was an Englishman, the circumstance is more striking. But in truth, dire necessity, and the terror of further alienation from the jurisdiction of the Pope, have wrung from him permission to the subject to concede what his tyranny had long refused to grant; nay, even to appear to approve a practice which he had struggled to prevent, even after his votaries had reprobated his unjustifiable interference.

The two books condemned in the Index are the Archbishop's; they are thus mentioned:—

"A Small Booke, bearing this title, Marcus Antonius De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, declareth the motives of his departure, in which Booke are respectively contained very many propositions, formally heretical, erroneous, schismatical, savouring of heresie, blasphemous, scandalous, and contumelious against the Catholique Roman Church. And because in the aforesaid booke the author professeth that he will shortly set forth a certaine work of his, concerning the Christian commonwealth, which he will comprise in tenne bookes, and doeth there propound the matter which he handleth in every part of said bookes, in which he expressly avoucheth that he teacheth divers propositions, which because they are manifestly heretical, therefore, by this present decree, his work is forbidden in all places and in all languages, whether already printed or thereafter to be printed."

It may seem strange that the cardinals did not mention the contents of the Archbishop's great work; it contained ample grounds for virulent denunciation. They were wise in their generation. To have named it, or developed its valuable contents, would have excited curiosity. But that they should have misnamed the title of the book they condemned, is a mild example of the golden rule of telling a lie for the sake of the truth. The Archbishop's book was not written, as they asserted, on the Christian commonwealth, but in defence of the Christian commonwealth against the usurpation, the tyranny, and the corruptions of the ecclesiastical commonwealth of Rome; its title was *De*

*Republica Ecclesiastica.* The insinuation, therefore, of the cardinals in placing this book without its proper title in the *Index Prohibitorius*, was not that the author was merely heretical and schismatical, but infidel, that he had levelled his learning and ability against the bulwarks of Christianity, and not merely against the divisions and impurities of the army that carried on the warfare in the citadel that arrogated to itself the title of being the chief city of God. It has been indeed a subject of wonder that this great work of the Archbishop's was condemned before it was known or published, but this was no new device of the court of Rome; for a prose work of Dante, in defence of the Emperor against the encroachments of the Pope, whom he described as a decretalist and no divine, was inserted in the Index in the year 1559. The *Monarchia* of Dante was translated from the original Latin into Italian by Marsilio Ficini, and this was the edition put into the Index.

The decree, in truth, was published for the sole purpose of arresting the propagation of the truths so ably and eloquently advanced by the Archbishop. All the circumstances connected with the persecution of Spalatro, the artifices employed to ensnare and arrest him, the exertions made to prevent the appearance of his writings, the libels propagated to taint and ruin his reputation, the long train of tricks and deceptions, of which we shall speak hereafter, invented and employed by the Spanish ambassador, and the interference of the Emperor

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with the Pope to entice him back to Rome, all prove that the cunning councillors of the Vatican clearly perceived that there was more danger to the stability of the influence of the papal power in the unpunished and silent condemnation of the Archbishop, than at first sight strikes the unwary observer.

Venice was dangerous ground for schism to rear its head in. It was the fountain of liberty among popish nations; it was like Holland in Protestant states. Civil liberty cannot, as a general principle, be long diffused among a people; its blessings cannot be estimated at their proper worth, while spiritual thralldom continues its blighting power. The light that shone in Goshen amid surrounding darkness was supernatural. No people can long exercise their rights as citizens, and submit to be excluded from the discussion of the far dearer interests of their eternal destiny. Liberty permits no usurper to dispute her throne. Though years may seem long to the ardent hopes of the missionary who is zealous in the evangelization of the nations of the earth, those will be soonest brought to contend for their spiritual freedom who have enjoyed the intermediate state of civil liberty. The court of Rome well knew this: the present crisis, therefore, demanded the entire energy of its tyranny, and all the subtlety of its art. The cardinals remembered that Venice at the dawn of the Reformation had been the asylum of persecuted Protestants; she had refused the gentle entreaties of the inquisitors to set up in their free state their tabernacle of

Moloch. Her commerce, by the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Gama, was widely extended, and therefore had conducted her people to an intercourse with the inhabitants of the earth. The spirit of freedom is so subtle as to penetrate the hardest heart if it but breathe within its neighbourhood. Venice had long been distinguished for the number and excellence of her printing-presses. While others cultivated letters to indulge their taste or as the channel of advancing the cause of God, in Venice they had their patrons, because the commercial prosperity of the state was advanced by their means. The writings of the German and Swiss Protestants were circulated from Venice through all Italy, and many editions of the Scriptures were printed there. So early as 1528 Luther says, — "You give me joy by what you write of the Venetians receiving the Word of God." In 1530 Lucio Paolo Roselli wrote in a noble strain of religious independence to Melancthon, imploring him not to dishonour the cause of his Master by concessions to Cardinal Campeggio, who was the legate of the Pope at the Diet of Augsburg. Venice, too, had its martyrs in the cause of the reformed faith, Pietro Carnesecchi and Baldo Lupetino. Altieri, who acted as secretary to the English ambassador at Venice, promoted the glorious cause with all the zeal of genius and the holy love of piety, by his correspondence and the importation of such books as had a tendency to further his object. In 1538, the friends of the Reformation, who had met hitherto

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in secret, deliberated as to the expediency of forming themselves into congregations and meeting in public. Several members of the senate were favourable to the project, and Melancthon excited them to make the noble plunge at once, and to depart from the tyranny of their taskmaster. The Pope pressed the senate to adhere to the ancient faith, and prevailed. And now the work of persecution commenced, and many distinguished for learning and genuine piety suffered death. But no persecution can extinguish the ardent lovers of truth, though their exertions may cease to be publicly known. The Protestants had secret meetings for worship at the beginning of the seventeenth century, distinct from those which the ambassadors of Protestant states were permitted to hold.

For these reasons the court of Rome determined to act with vigour; an acquaintance with the spirit and inclinations of the people of Venice increased their anxiety to extinguish every effort that was made for a re-consideration of the doctrines of the reformed Churches, but nevertheless the writings of Spalatro were universally read even in Italy. Sir Henry Wotton states, "that the Italians were greedy of our treatises in matters of controversy, and he informs James I. of the divers ways that had been used to excite and satisfy that curiosity by the works of the Archbishop of Spalatro, since his retirement into your Majesty's dominions<sup>b</sup>."

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<sup>b</sup> A Report of Sir H. Wotton's Negotiation in Germany, p. 493.

And in France, too, in opposition to the authority of the Sorbonne, the works of the Archbishop were anxiously sought after and read. In a letter of Mr. Becher to Camden, he states that "the censure" which they of the Sorbonne have made of the Archbishop of Spalatro's book, hath wrought a contrary effect, and wonderfully recommended it to the world, and I do assure you that there are many very learned men in this town (Paris) by profession Catholics that do highly extol it<sup>a</sup>."

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<sup>a</sup> *Censura Sacre Facultatis Theologiae Paris. in quatuor priores libros de Republica Ecclesiastica. Auctore M. A. De Dominis. 1618.*

<sup>d</sup> *Camdeni Epistolæ, p. 210.*



## CHAPTER VI.

**T**HE Archbishop, as has been before remarked, was strongly impressed with the wisdom and necessity of trying the great experiment of an union of the Church of England and of Rome. The reflections of his own mind and an examination of the creed and liturgies and discipline of the primitive professors of the truth had increased this desire. But the effort seemed too rash to attempt at the period when he had first deemed it needful, as no probability of accomplishing his wishes gave any indication of success in the tone and temper of either of the Churches. But the present situation of Venice opened a gratifying field of hope for the consummation of what he so ardently longed for. The Spaniards and the French, encouraged by the example of the Venetians, the Tuscans, and even the inhabitants of the small republic of Lucca, were exerting all their influence to set bounds to the pontifical power. How greatly he thirsted for the reunion of the Churches of Christendom appears by a statement of his feelings on the subject:—

“I have always had an inborn desire, which ever since my admittance into the clergy I have cherished, to see all the several parts of Christendom consenting and united together. The distraction of the West from the East, of



the South from the North in matters of faith, as I never could brook, so I never left searching into the causes of so lamentable a divorce, and sounding whether any means might be found for the re-combining and reducing them to their ancient union; and the more I longed to see this happy conjunction, the greater was my inward grief to behold the manifold divisions among the professors of Christianity, the bitter hatred, the unquenchable broils between the most renowned Churches, the shameful cutting and tearing of the seamless garment of our Saviour. This consideration, this compassion, so just, so necessary, hath in deep measure seized upon me, possessing my heart with no small anxiety, and ceaseth not daily yet more and more to grow upon me."

The senate of Venice employed in advocating their cause and the independence of their Church Paul Sarpi, and seven other of the ablest divines. No reconciliation was anticipated for a long time between the republic and the Pope. Among all the sincere lovers of true religion, a rupture between the court and Church of Rome and the Venetian Church was daily expected. Paul Sarpi and his illustrious companions were commanded to preach and write against the Pope's authority as long as the interdict continued in force. The effect of their exertions considerably diminished the attachment of all classes of the people to the Roman Church; while the other states of Italy, having a political bias in favour of the Venetian cause, participated in the hope that either a separation from the ecclesiastical and temporal sway of the Pope might be effected, or that his authority might be

contracted within limits favourable to the diffusion of religion and the maintenance of public liberty. All Protestant Europe shared in the animating hope that the country in which popery had been fostered, and from whence it had spread its desolating ramifications, would be emancipated from the iron grasp of the pontiff, and its people led forth from the darkness of idolatry to the light of the Gospel. The labours of Paul Sarpi, if not directed in this holy enterprize, were at least encouraged and enlightened by the vigorous intellect, the profound learning, and unassuming piety of Bishop Bedell. He was at that time chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, the English ambassador at Venice. These two devoted and illustrious men entered so completely into each other's pursuits and designs, that but one soul seemed to animate them<sup>a</sup>. Paul Sarpi instructed the Bishop in the Italian language, "in which or in Latin he penned all the sermons which he then preached"<sup>b</sup> with his wonted ability and power, and became such a proficient, that he spoke it as if it had been his native dialect; and Bedell became the instructor of his gifted friend in the English language, and translated the Book of Common Prayer into Italian for his use. This book the seven divines associated with the holy father in upholding the Venetian cause so much approved of, that they resolved to have made it the model or pattern of one for the use of their own Church, if the differ-

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<sup>a</sup> *Reliquia Wottoniana.*

<sup>b</sup> Burnett.

ences between the republic and Rome had terminated as they fondly hoped and longed for.

The senate of Venice entertained serious thoughts of a total separation from the Church of Rome. The intention was speedily communicated to England and Holland by their respective ambassadors. James I. at once entered into the project with all the zeal which his fondness for controversial discussion inspired. He had previously expressed his approval of the celebrated edict written by Grotius, and employed Peter Du Moulin to carry out the intention of that learned and eloquent document. The King desired his ambassador to forward this design by every justifiable means in his power. Bishop Burnet states that Paul Sarpi and the seven divines were most anxious to effect the separation of the Venetian Church from the jurisdiction of Rome. But La Courayer\* asserts that though he disapproved of the tyrannous conduct of the Pope, yet he did not coincide with the reformed doctrine, nor suggest to the Venetians the plan of renouncing the Romish faith. But it is unquestionable that Bedell was the principal agent in the following interesting and extraordinary transaction. King James ordered his ambassador to accuse the Pope as the chief organ of all the disturbances and mischiefs that were taking place in all Christian kingdoms. This certainly bears the marks of the in-

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\* See *Défense de la nouvelle traduction de l'Histoire du Concile de Trent*, p. 35.

temperate zeal of James: the senate answered this accusation against the Pope in the most respectful manner; but the Pope's nuncio replied, "That King James was not a Catholic, and therefore not to be relied on." The Duke rejoined, "That the King of England believed in Jesus Christ, but he could not say in whom others believed." Then Paul Sarpi and the seven divines pressed Bedell to induce the ambassador to present to the senate the "Premonition" of King James, addressed to all Christian princes and states. They thought it was probable that the most happy results might ensue from the temper and feelings which the senate had exhibited at this juncture. But strange to say, the ambassador could not be prevailed upon to comply; he made some unsatisfactory and shuffling excuse. The "Premonition" was not presented. The republic of Venice and the court of Rome were reconciled. Paul Sarpi despaired of ever witnessing so propitious a conjuncture arise again for the purification of the Venetian Church. In anticipation of such an issue to the events in which he had taken so distinguished and prominent a part, he had written to Isaac Casaubon to intercede with King James to procure him an asylum and home in England. But the senate still looked to him for counsel and guidance. As the love of duty, no less than love of country, strongly worked in his heart, to these he sacrificed all private and personal convenience and peace. He therefore remained in Venice, and in three years died there.

One feels that a debt is unpaid to the illustrious dead if we pass on from such a grave as this in silence. Even an unworthy effort to present to the memory of Paul Sarpi some faint record of his piety and genius ought to be forgiven. He was as distinguished as a scholar, an author, a divine, a canonist, an historian, a patriot, and scientific philosopher, as any man in the whole range of history. If of living men he was not foremost in each department of literature, he was distinguished in all. He was deeply learned in the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Greek languages. One writer of his life declares that he had read the New Testament in the original so constantly, that he could repeat the whole of it by heart; while Fulgentio<sup>d</sup>, his companion and friend, asserts that he had studied it with such critical accuracy, that he had marked nearly every word of it. In all branches of science and general literature he had not only tasted, but drank deeply. In moral philosophy, in physics and in mathematics, he was well versed, and had studied much. He was skilled in common law, and there never has been one more deeply learned as a canonist. He was an excellent anatomist, particularly of the eye<sup>e</sup>. The physician of greatest note in the age in which he lived, Aquapendente, extolled his knowledge most highly. He discovered the valves of the veins. Some have even said, but

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<sup>d</sup> *Vita Del Padre Paolo*, 1658.

<sup>e</sup> See Johnson's works on the Doctrine of Vision, vol. vi. p. 271.

I believe without foundation, that he had discovered before Harvey<sup>1</sup> the circulation of the blood. Sir Henry Wotton declares that he was so thoroughly acquainted with the history of plants, that one would believe he never had perused any book but that of nature. His skill in the transmutation of metals was extraordinary, and his appreciation of the mind and character from the lines of the face, which has been supposed to be a study of late years cultivated, was exact and wonderful. In mechanics and the construction of all kinds of machinery his reputation and knowledge ranked so high, that his opinion was sought for anxiously from all parts of the world. It seemed as if he were supreme judge in this department because he had bestowed his great intellect exclusively upon it. Yet in this extensive range of diversified acquirements, his mind appeared to have lost nothing of accuracy by the multiplied resources from which it was supplied; every thing was complete and in the most accurate order. Though the thoughts he gave utterance to in any department of his vast stores of information shewed the depth and riches of his own mental researches, his memory was also filled with the precious harvest of other men's knowledge. Yet an accurate and very powerful memory has been supposed to be an unwilling and incongruous

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<sup>1</sup> In Blunt's *Censura Superiorum Auctorum* several authorities are quoted to prove this statement. But the mistake arose from Harvey having been a pupil of Aquapendente in Padua.

partner of a deep and original mind. But Pascal and Paul Sarpi are eminent exceptions to such a theory. Notwithstanding these precious and wonderful gifts from nature, and his vast acquirements by their light and power, his humility kept even pace with the extent and increase of his knowledge. In truth, the more he knew the less he wished to seem to have acquired.

The legislative powers of Paul Sarpi, so high-toned and free from prejudice, so unselfish and truly Catholic,—indeed, selfishness appeared to have been blotted out of his heart,—were unusual qualities to distinguish the inhabitant of a monk's cell. Yet he commenced his ecclesiastical life as one of the Servite order at the early age of fourteen years, and finished his pilgrimage at seventy-one within its gloomy and almost imprisoned walls. And from this it would appear that though he enlightened and ruled a great senate of illustrious nobles so wisely and so well, he had not acquired his knowledge of government from experience. It was the rectitude of his own pure mind, which even a vicious education could not or did not adulterate or warp, that enabled him to teach others to think nobly and to walk uprightly. For though throughout his long and brilliant career he continued to the end a cloistered monk, the Venetian senate paid the highest tribute to their own patriotism and principles by honouring him with the title of "Consultor of State." And they always did consult him during their eventful contest with the

Pope, and literally to the last moment of his existence were guided by his wisdom and advice<sup>a</sup>.

But all his genius and learning, his patriotism and piety, could not secure him against the malevolence of his enemies. He had opposed the tyranny of Rome, was at least no advocate of her creed, but a wakeful waiter upon the destiny in which she was involved. Many times was his life in imminent danger from the partizans of the Pope. By poison sometimes, by assassination at others, and on one occasion by a conspiracy to inveigle him to Rome, where vengeance seemed more certain of its prey, his enemies had counselled to take away his life. And more than once they who came to execute their wicked purposes went away uttering prayers for his safety<sup>b</sup>. Providence seemed

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<sup>a</sup> By the direction of the senate, he composed a work on the Inquisition of Venice, which Fulgentio says ought to be purchased by all princes as an inestimable treasure. This work, *Trattato dell' Inquisitione*, was given by its author to Bishop Bedell, was printed in England, and dedicated to James I. And *Trattato dell' Interditto della Santità di Papa Paolo V.* was also presented to Bedell and published in England.

<sup>b</sup> In the *Life* prefixed to the Italian editions of the works of Paul Sarpi, there is an interesting account of the rupture between the Pope and the republic of Venice. When the terrors of the interdict and the ingenuity and sophistry of Baronius and Bellarmine had failed to make any favourable impression for the Pope, he scrupled not to resort to assassination and treachery to preserve the power which he now perceived there were no other means of securing. In the *Life* referred to it is stated that the court, among other artifices to gain a victory in this controversy, had made use of this,—to send divers men under various pretences to seduce, either by promises or threatenings, or both, those that



determined to preserve a life which to its possessor, alone of all the world, appeared to be of little value. On one occasion, being attacked by a band of ruffians and most cruelly and desperately wounded, he begged on his knees the lives of those who had attempted to murder him. This principle of self-sacrifice was not an occasional virtue. For once when asked to lend a friend a sum of money, he finely remarked that in obliging those who needed such favours he wished to imitate God and nature; their gifts, how great soever they may be, are never bestowed in expectation of any return.

Among those who were his enemies in his own Church, Cardinal Bellarmine is honoured by being an exception to the revilers of his honoured name. Though he condemned the part he had taken in reference to Venice and the Pope, he valued and extolled his great acquirements and unostentatious piety. He had in vain endeavoured to persuade the unwilling lords of the Vatican that Paul Serpi was the most eminent man in the Church. And he beautifully remarked in reference to the wretched

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served the republic, particularly those religious men that made up the college of the seven divines. The effect of this was that two of them deviated from the duty of their consciences.

And in the "Life of Father Paul the Venetian," pp. xlix., lvii., there is an interesting narrative given of several attempts to murder him. "In one of those he had three wounds with stilettoes, whereof two were given in the neck and one in his face, which entered at the right ear and came out betwixt his nose and right cheek. Several efforts were made to poison him and to seduce him to Rome."

provision that had been awarded him, that her rulers had greatly mistaken her interests in having given him but a dry flower to smell. For had he been otherwise treated, the ambitious Cardinal supposed he might have greatly promoted her interests. Once, indeed, the question was entertained of making him a Cardinal. And why did not the Church of Rome do honour to herself by elevating him? His intimacy with distinguished Protestants was the reason assigned for this disgraceful neglect. For Du Plessis, Mornay, Deodati, and other eminent men, were proud of the friendship by which he distinguished them. Yet this was the unworthy apology assigned by the heads of the Church for not elevating their own reputation in the world of religion and learning by doing an act of justice to a man whose genius was only rivalled by his learning. One wonders, indeed, that in the Church in which his eminent ability, his sober piety, and almost unlimited acquirements shone so conspicuously, that he was not a peculiar object of the Church's favour, as he was of the admiration of the rest of the world. But a commentator on these times and his character has wisely remarked, that he did not make a parade of his beads in places of public resort, nor did he kiss the image of some cherished saint, nor exhibit himself among masses of the people talking aloud in affected strains of piety, nor prove his contempt of the world by wearing a tattered and unwashed garment.

Interesting as perhaps these brief memorials of

this great man's life may be to some, an account of his death may prove more attractive still. When he was taken ill, his immediate, and indeed, his constant expression was, "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation." He then desired his dear and devoted friend Fulgentio to read to him the nineteenth chapter of the Gospel of St. John, which records the sufferings of our Lord. He then received the blessed sacrament of the Lord's Supper. And such an atmosphere of holiness seemed to breathe from his whole demeanour, that all present could not restrain themselves from tears.

On the last day of his life, the Doge and senate of Venice waited on him, and sent for Fulgentio to present their affectionate inquiries for his health. His life, he said, was quickly drawing to a close, but his mind was as vigorous and serene as ever. They then inquired if it were possible to propose to his consideration at such a moment three questions of intense interest to the state. The dying father was told of the interview and of the important request. He at once desired the immediate presence of his amanuensis; and then calmly, and with no faltering voice, he dictated answers to the questions. They were immediately carried back to the senate. With anxious haste the paper was opened and read. The answers of the patriot priest were found exactly to agree with the previous deliberations of that illustrious body. They had long discussed the question; he at the instant, and at

such a moment too, decided, so little had the near approach of death darkened his clear perception of the interests of his country; his views exactly corresponded with the opinions of those whose strength of mind and body was neither impaired by sickness nor dimmed by age.

After this interview, the physician told him that he had but a short time to live. He answered with a composed and even cheerful voice, "God be praised, what pleases Him pleases me, and with His blessed assistance we will acquit ourselves of this last action." Towards evening he became weaker, and then he begged that the same chapter of St. John might be read to him, and at the close of it he said, "I have nothing to present to God which I can call my own but my miseries and my sins, and therefore I rely entirely upon the merits of my blessed Saviour." He continued cheerful, and never allowed a sigh to escape him. He used to say at every little interval, "Come, let us go to where God calls me." The clock now struck eight. He counted the tolls of the bell, and calling Fulgentio to him, he said, "Leave me now, there is no occasion for your stay. Go to sleep, and I will go to God, whence we all came." He then kissed his dear and attached friend, and the monks coming in, repeated the usual prayers, and as they concluded, he gently raised his voice and said, "Esto perpetua," thus praying for his country which he had served so nobly and loved so well. He then resigned his spirit, with a smile, to Him that gave it.

The particulars of his death were published by order of the senate, to silence the slanders that maligned him in the grave. It was said that hideous dogs howled, and that horrid noises were heard in the neighbourhood of his cell. Yet some that loved truth better than flattery, said that Rome would have canonized him if he had espoused her interests at Venice. But many a falsehood was repeated, and many a tale invented against him. The Pope, too, assented to these calumnious stories. Surely his Holiness trembled when he uttered the falsehood, "That the hand of God was visible in removing Father Paul out of this world." Yet where is the record written, and by what faithful witness attested, that the Church of Rome ever possessed one other such blessed saint in her calendar as Father Paul.

And yet no memorial, no monument re-echoed, when dead, the heartfelt admiration which all lovers of truth and learning bestowed upon him while he lived. His friend—his devoted friend—devoted to his person and his cause, for which indeed he nobly suffered afterwards at Rome, had resolved to testify, by some public monument, the homage which, in the name of patriotism, and learning, and genius, he designed to offer to his great name. But the Servite order declared that this was a debt which it was their province to discharge. And so anxious were all that were witnesses of his high gifts to be the sole executors of some memorial of his fame, that they proclaimed that this

office was their especial duty. Yet they, too, allowed this privilege, which they seemed to covet so anxiously, to pass from their hands unfulfilled. But the faithful Fulgentio, in mourning over his grave that had not been honoured in brass or marble, has left the noblest monument to his fame in these words, "But Father Paul will live eternally in God, which is the only desirable blessing. He will live, too, in the memory of man on account of his virtues, a remembrance that will outlast the strongest monument."

This prophecy succeeding ages have indeed fulfilled, and fulfilled too with increasing admiration for his genius and learning, and veneration for his patriotism and piety. Time seems to gather admirers at his grave to pay homage to his memory and his fame. Present times will but increase their number and re-echo the praises of the past. For in the same land which he laboured to enfranchise and enlighten, liberty still writhes under the shackles of restraint, and religion longs to burst from the clouds of ignorance and superstition. If the day should ever come when truth and freedom shall occupy in Italy their own place in the hearts of the people, many a friar in his cell, after two centuries and a-half, and many a patriot released from the gloom of his dungeon, will bless the name of Paul Sarpi for his inspiring love of his God and for his love of liberty. Baptista Porta said of him that he was not only the ornament and glory of Venice and all Italy, but of the whole world. May

we add, that he was the most gifted of the human race in genius and the various departments of divine and human learning, but also the wisest and the most exemplary Christian that ever adorned, in any age, the Church of Rome.

Milton, in reproving the lamentations of those who regretted that there was no memorial erected to the memory of Shakespeare, has appropriately sympathised in the feeling that Fulgentio expressed respecting his beloved friend:—

“What needs my Shakespeare, for his honoured bones,  
The labour of an age in piled stones;  
Or, that his hallowed relics should be hid  
Under a starry pointing pyramid.  
Dear son of memory, great heir of fame,  
What needs thou such weak witness of thy name,  
Thou in our wonder and astonishment,  
Hast built thyself a living monument!”—pp. 122, 142.

## CHAPTER VII.

WHEN the Archbishop had determined to renounce the Church of Rome, he resolved to leave Venice. He did not publish his intentions till he considered himself safe from the persecution of papal vengeance. We learn from a small tract published in 1616 in London, entitled "A Parcel of Observations upon the Former Decree," that this precaution was necessary\*. He had retired from Dalmatia into the city of Venice, and after a short delay there directed his course to Switzerland. From Coire, a chief town of the Grisons, he communicated to the senate of Venice his determination to leave the Church of Rome. From thence he pursued his journey towards Germany, and published at Heidelberg, in Latin<sup>b</sup>, the

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\* These "Observations" were written on the publication of the *Decretum Sacre Congregationis Illustri. Cardinalium a Paulo Papa, sanctęque sede Apostolica*. In this decree the "Motives" of the Archbishop for leaving the Church of Rome, as well as his unpublished work, *De Republica Ecclesiastica*, were condemned. See chap. v.

<sup>b</sup> *Marcus Antonius De Dominis, Archiepiscopus Spalatensis, sua perfectionis consilium exponit*. No place, no date. This was republished afterwards under this form:—*Reverendissimi in Christo Patris Marci Antonii de Dominis, Archiepiscopi Spalatensis consilium. Causas discessus sui ex Italia et a Psycho-tyrannide Pontificis Romę exponit longe gravissimas. Ex-  
cuscum prioris 20 die Septemb. anno 1616. Jam denovo at primum exemplar fideliter recensum 12 Januarii, anno 1617.*



book which afterwards appeared in England with this title:—"A Manifestation of the Motives whereupon the Most Reverend Father Marcus Antonius De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, in the Territorie of Venice, undertooke his Departure thence. Englished out of his Latin Copy. At London, printed by John Bill, 1616." This book had been privately printed at Venice, but was not published till his arrival in Germany. It is dated from Venice the 20th of September, and was circulated on the 23rd of October following. It was immediately sent to Venice, and the Pope's nuncio despatched it with all haste to Rome. On the 12th of November the decree already alluded to was published, by which, as the author of the "Observations" remarks,—

"His 'Motives' were nimbly doomed to silence by them that whetted their teeth to bite the stone when they could not fasten on the hand that flung it. He was pursued through Germany, and secret warrants were dispersed either for openly arresting him, or cunningly delaying him on his way. But these snares were set too late, and other incident dangers by sea, by land, by solitude, by company, by sickness, by discovery, were all overcome by God's overruling hand, so that the miss argueth not want of zeal in the court of Rome, which upon the first alarm arose to pursue him, but rather want of regularity in him, who took not his solemn leave of the Pope's nuncio at Venice, of whom he should surely have had authentic letters of pass, and perpetual provision of safer lodging than he was like to find in the villages and byways through which he passed, uncouth and unsaluted."

On his arrival at the Hague he was received most courteously, by means of the letters which Sir Dudley Carleton had sent to him, and his Excellency Grave Maurice appointed one of the ships of war to convey him to England. A great number of copies of his book were circulated in Holland, and we learn by a letter from his affectionate friend, George Michael Lingelskeim, that it had been reprinted there. He also says,—

“Your departure out of Babylon hath deeply stung and incensed the enemies of truth, so that now already, both at Rome and Milan, edicts are set forth for the prohibiting of your writings, even those you have not published. The Jesuits of Brussels, because it lieth not within their reach to do other mischief, make bold to nibble at your good name, and labour to impair the worth and weight of your authority. But all in vain. For in Venice your most pious papalins do yield you good testimony of your blameless life. Our most renowned prince, the Palgrave, was not a little joyed when notice was given to his Highness of the recovery of your health and your prosperous arrival at the Hague.”

This letter is dated the 19th of December, 1616.

The Archbishop's visit, in company with Bedell, to the united provinces, made him more anxious to go to England. For at this time the Presbyterian controversy was canvassed with that fiery vehemence which has always accompanied its consideration, as well on the Continent as in England. The Presbyterian form of government little accorded to the hierarchical predilections of the Archbishop. But he had always been taught to believe that in

England the ancient and apostolical discipline of the Church was judiciously blended with purity of doctrine. Sir Dudley Carleton was at that time ambassador at the Hague. From him he solicited letters of introduction to some persons eminent for their attachment to the principles of the Reformed Church. The Ambassador, in compliance with this request, wrote, on the 10th of June, 1616, to Sir R. Winwood, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He says\*,—

"I have been written unto lately by the Archbishop of Spalatro to send him letters of address to some well-affected persons on the way, he having, as he writes, settled his affairs, and persisting in his former resolution of going to England. Herein I made no difficulty of satisfying him, conceiving it to agree with his Majesty's pleasure."

The Archbishop was attended to England by Bedell<sup>a</sup> and a fellow-convert from the Church of Rome, one Despotine. He was an eminent physician, who afterwards lived near the Bishop at St. Edmondsbury. He was no less distinguished for his professional attainments than for the singleness and sincerity of his religious opinions. One would have supposed that the companion of Bedell needed no other introduction to the society of the learned and the sustaining friendship of pious associates. The Archbishop's intercession with the Ambassador for other acquaintance than those his fellow-traveller

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\* Sir Dudley Carleton's Letters, p. 38.

<sup>a</sup> Burnet's Life of Bedell, p. 14.

could procure, seems to afford a glimpse of a mercenary or vain anxiety to promulgate formally to King James his approach to his kingdom. Sir Dudley Carleton, however, complied with his request, and the venerable neophyte set out for his new asylum.

Immediately before his departure from the scene of his ministerial labours, and just before he reached England, the Archbishop, as we have said, published a justification of his desertion of the Church of Rome. Sir Dudley Carleton\*, in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, written two months after the arrival of De Dominis, says,—

“I send a book which comes out at this instant to my hands, in answer to the Archbishop’s ‘Motives.’ Many libellous pamphlets were immediately disseminated, aspersing the inducements which led to the adoption of his new creed. The effect of these publications, even on the minds of those most deeply anxious for his sincerity, had considerably weakened the impression which the first intelligence of his change had produced in England.”

Lord Bacon, in his *Apothegms*, relates,—

“That the Lord Bishop Andrews was asked at the first coming over of the Archbishop of Spalatro, whether he were a Protestant or no? He answered, ‘Truly I know not, but I think he is a detestant;’ that was,” says Bacon, “of most of the opinions of Rome’.”

The “libellous pamphlets” of which Sir Dudley Carleton speaks had begun to produce their in-

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\* Carleton’s Letters, p. 101.

† Bacon’s Works, vol. ii. p. 433.

tended operations upon the public mind. No society of men has ever reaped such worldly rewards as the members of the Italian faith from false and defamatory statements. Well do they understand the organization of the human mind, and also the most successful means by which it can be assaulted, and, without Divine interference, most probably be overcome. The entire machinery by which for ages it has upheld its marvellous ascendancy over truth and reason, is adapted to the attainment of victory by the subtle contrivance of gratifying the worst passions of the heart, and blinding and seducing the noblest principles of the mind. The Archbishop may have been a weak, a vain, and an ambitious man, but there appears little reason to suppose that at this time he was not a sincere one. This certainly seems to have been the case when he first renounced the Church of Rome. Higher dignity he could not have attained in the Church he adopted than he had possessed in the one he had deserted. He was not only Archbishop, but still considered to be Primate of Dalmatia<sup>c</sup>. But we must not anticipate the regular events of his life.

On the sixteenth of December, 1616, the Archbishop arrived in England, the city of refuge to the persecuted of Christendom. Camden thus notices his arrival:—

"M. Antonius De Dominis Archiepiscopus Spalatensis in Dalmatia perosus abusus Pontificorum, in Angliam

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<sup>c</sup> Collier's Ecol. Hist., vol. vii. pp. 334, 336; Heylin's *Cyprianus Angl.*; Fuller's Church Hist., lib. xiii.

venit et Rege jubente ab Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi excipitur."

And in five days afterwards, "regem accessit et una cum illo sacra adiit<sup>a</sup>."

The nobility and gentry, the bishops and clergy, were all emulous to pay him homage. Heylin<sup>1</sup> says :—

"He was extremely honoured at his first coming by all sorts of people. He was entertained at both Universities with solemn speeches; presented to, and complimented and feasted by, the great lords about the court, and some principal persons in the city. Happy was he that was honoured with his company, and satisfied with beholding his comely presence, though they understood not his discourses."

A report of the Archbishop's reception at Cambridge, and the literary exhibition there presented to him, has been preserved by Bishop Hacket, in his *Life<sup>a</sup>* of Archbishop Williams, Keeper of the Great Seal in the reign of James I. Though even the portion we shall extract from this entertaining description is long, it is so amusing that it cannot be tiresome :—

"The Bishop of Winchester made a proposition before his Majesty, that whereas the Archbishop of Spalatro, a proselyte much welcomed at that time, was designed to be present at Cambridge Commencement in the next July, that he might behold the University in the fairest trim,

<sup>a</sup> *Camdeni Regni Regis Jac. I. Annal. Apper.*, p. 22.

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Laud*, p. 69.

<sup>b</sup> A more succinct account is given of this entertainment in *Philips' Life of the Archbishop*, pp. 47, 48.

and hear the disputation, the best being ever provided for that appearance, that Mr. Williams might be reserved unto that time for a double service, to answer publicly in divinity for the degree of Doctor, the fittest to be the Days-man before that learned prelate, and likewise give him hospitality, such as such a guest deserved. So it was ordered, and so it was performed.

"Some men are right learned, yet, with all that worth, steal off the world unknown, because it was their ill hap never to be brought upon the theatre of manifestation; and some are as valiant as the best, and yet are never praised for it, because they were never invited into the field to shew it. So Velleius speaks for Sejanus, that he never triumphed, 'non merito, sed materia adipiscendi triumphalia defectus est;' he deserved it, but the matter of a triumph never fell in his way. There are others whom not only deliberate advice, but every casualty and contingency, puts forward to be *aspectabiles*; it conducts them where they may be best viewed, and their full stature seen upon the advantage of a rising. I fall into this contemplation because an object is before me wherein I may aptly exemplify. Dr. Williams (his title for which he stood in the Act ann. 1617) culled not out gaudy seasons of vain-glory; that cannot be suspected, because he took all his academical degrees in their just year. But He above, that disposeth all things, provided those coincidences of great resort and celebrity, such as Archbishop Spalatro's presence at this Commencement, to his worthiness be known the further.

"It was well for the Doctor that he was a right stag, well breathed, and had a fair head with all his rights, for I never heard a respondent better hunted in all my time that I was a commorant in Cambridge. The opponents were the princes of their tribes, men of renown in their generation, Πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ, who did honour the Uni-

versity that day, to the admiration of Mr. Antonio De Dominis, with the utmost of their learning.

"It were no sin to forget the feasts he made at this solemnity. They were bounteous, nay, excessive, after the usual trespass of the superfluity of our nation, such as Plutarch says Lucullus made in his dining-room which he calls Apollo. One thing deserves a smile, that the Doctor was at no little cost to send to the Italian ordinaries at London, and to ransack the merchants' stores, for such viands as might please the Archbishop Spalatro out of his own country. To which accates it was observed that he never put his hand towards them, but liked our venison and English dishes a great deal better, he thanked them. But enough of this, for many do not like the smell of a kitchen."

The arrival of the Archbishop in England had placed him beyond the reach of the malignity and vengeance of the Vatican. He was received with universal joy and homage<sup>1</sup>. The King made him some valuable presents; among others he gave him a silver basin and bowl. On receiving these tokens of court favour, De Dominis remarked, "The King of Great Britain has sent me a basin and bowl to

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<sup>1</sup> "Porteus tandem miserrimæ istius conditionis subduxisti te ab antichristi jugo; ad Christum et hanc orthodoxam Christi Anglicanum Ecclesiam ultro te contulisti. Exceptus hic non benigne solum es, sed et honorifice, a plebe, a proceribus, a prælati, ab ipso supremo fidei fideliumque defensore; nec supra merita solum sed et vota; magnis opibus, amplissimis muneribus, ecclesiasticis, eisque optimis beneficiis etiam et dignitatibus ornatus, ipsa pinguidine olivæ nostræ satius tu ac saginatus es; et si ad cumulum aliquid defuisset, munifica Regis manu suppleri potuisset."—*Crakanthorp, Defensio Eccles. Angliæ. contra M. A. De Dominis*, p. 2. 1625.



wash away the filth of the Roman Church, and a silver cup to remind me to drink of the purity of the Gospel."

On the third of May, 1617, he was made Dean of Windsor, Master of the Savoy, and Rector of West Ilsley in Berkshire. He was scarcely in possession of these promotions when he began to be very vexatious to his tenants; indeed, he had determined to question the leases of his predecessor; but Dr. King, the Bishop of London, reprimanded him so severely that he relinquished the design.

In 1617 the Archbishop published his elaborate work, *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*, in three volumes, folio. In the frontispiece there is a half-length likeness of him by Mierevelt, and an excellent portrait of him by Tintoret is preserved at Devonshire-house. Of this great work Dr. Heylin says, "that it has never been answered, and perhaps is unanswerable." As a book of reference it is eminently useful, and in the present desire for controversial study on questions connected with the popish question, a publication of such great learning, the result of ten years' labour, by a man of great ability, might indeed be most useful".

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= A part of this great work was censured by the Faculty of Theology at Cologne. The title is, "Censura sacre Facultatis Theologicæ Coloniensis in quatuor priores libros De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ, M. Antonii Archiepiscopi Spalatensis, Colonis Agrippinæ apud Antonium Hierat. 1618. Propositiones ex iv. lib. M. Antonii supra memoratis selectæ et per facult. Theolog. Colon. damnatæ."

We shall give one example of the summary condemnation that

We will add a short analysis of this most valuable work, in order that more general attention may be bestowed on it. In modern times the work is rarely ever quoted or alluded to.

The author commences by an investigation into the form or government of the Church; he establishes in respect to our blessed Lord, who is the Head of the Church, that it is governed in the most perfect form of monarchy; but the ministers of Christ have no resemblance or conformity to an external or visible monarchy. They are to govern according to our Lord's command, in an aristocratic form, with some intermixture of democratic power. From hence he establishes that the supposed primacy of authority in St. Peter, and all the claims of supreme government in the Church which the Papacy arrogates to itself, have no foundation in the Gospel, and were not instituted by Christ. He then proceeds to review the position of those who govern, and of those in subjection to them. He first discusses the mode in which they succeeded to the apostles, and what purposes in the Divine will a bishopric is instituted to effect. He investigates its peculiar province, in what it differs from the ordinary priesthood, and who are the inferior clergy,

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is employed in every part of this book. For instance, caput iii., "*Apostolos omnes in omni officio et munere apostolico ac in omni potestate fuisse inter se pares et omnino aequales.*"

"*Propositio vel titularis inscriptio plane hæretica quam ad nauseam toto capite frequenter repetit, evidenter colligo, disparitatem potestatis inter apostolos, esse humanum inventum.*"

"*Propositio hæretica et schismatica.*"

and what is the power or authority of Holy Orders in this body.

With respect to the hierarchy, he states that in the law of God there is no distinction or subjection between one bishop and another, and that all disparity in their sees, or any other difference in dignity, emolument, position, or power, is solely grounded on ecclesiastical constitution and arrangement. He explains the laws or regulations connected with the election, confirmation, consecration, and ordination of bishops, and of the various duties of metropolitans, primates, and patriarchs.

The next inquiry is as to the privileges of the Church of Rome. He most satisfactorily establishes that neither in herself, nor in her bishops, nor in her clergy, has she ever received from Christ any pre-eminence or power over other Churches; but any authority she ever possessed of this nature was the voluntary act of human permission or concession, as it was the gift of man, and by man it can at any time be recalled.

The Archbishop then investigates, and in a most profound manner, what is the natural and proper power of the Church; he clearly proves it to be merely spiritual; he denies that any compulsory or coercive authority belongs to her. He then examines the operations of the Sacraments and Church censures.

He next makes a comparison between the powers that belong to the laity and the ecclesiastical authorities, in order that limits may be established

between the governors of the Church and of the State. He then proves that Christian princes have authority in many things in the Church, but that she has no privilege in disposing of the temporal goods of the Church, and, least of all, to intermeddle with kings about them.

The internal direction of the Church, which is by faith, he next examines. He inquires what is the true rule of faith; from this he enters on an explanation of the authority of the Word of God, and of the Church and Pope concerning it. He concludes this part of the work by an investigation of heresy and schism. The external government of the Church, by laws, canons, and judicature, he examines at considerable length, as well as the obligatory power of such canons, the quality or nature of dispensations, and the injunction of fasts and prayers. He then enters upon an inquiry respecting the temporal goods of the Church; he investigates narrowly the question of maintenance due to her ministers, from what source it arises, and in what way Church goods are to be disposed of. From thence he branches into the question of tithes, benefices, and the propriety of Church goods, of the use and abuse of its revenues, of pensions and commendams, and of the testaments of clergymen.

In the concluding part of this work he undertakes to shew what is true ecclesiastical liberty, and in what sense the Church may be said to be free. This conducts the author to the examination of privileges and of privileged men, and of the abuse of

these exemptions from authority; and, finally, he concludes with an elaborate examination of monks and friars, and all the holy orders of the Church.

This great and very learned work was universally applauded by the most competent judges. It was declared on all hands to contain the best collected body of evidence on the various subjects on which it treated. A doubt as to the faithfulness of the voluminous authorities he adduces was never insinuated even by his enemies; many of the most able controversial writers acknowledge the excellence and clearness of his arguments, and the prodigious extent of his ecclesiastical knowledge, by the numerous references to his volumes.

Bishop Jeremy Taylor frequently refers to this work. In his "Liberty of Prophesying" he quotes it twice. In the "Rule of Conscience" he places it at the head of all the authorities he enumerates. In the dedication to Charles II. of the *Ductor Dubitantium*, he says:—

"Those cases that concern the power and offices of ecclesiastical superiours and supreme, were, though in another manner, long since done by the incomparable Mr. Hooker and the learned Archbishop of Spalatro, but their labours never saw the light, and though I cannot attain to the strength of those champions of David and guardians of the temple," &c.

The Bishop refers in a note to the seventh and eighth books of the *De Republica Ecclesiastica*.

The labours of Hooker have not been lost. The

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<sup>a</sup> Taylor's Works, vol. viii. p. 136.

preservation of them, so far as they have been preserved, is very interesting, and possibly may excuse the introduction of the subject here.

Mr. Clark, who married Hooker's widow, sifted his papers, and destroyed many of them. Dr. John Spenser, immediately after his death, employed Henry Jackson, then of Corpus Christi College, to copy the sixth, seventh, and eighth books of the "Ecclesiastical Polity." After the death of Dr. Spenser they remained in the possession of Dr. King, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, until Archbishop Abbot had them removed to Lambeth Palace, where they continued till the death of Archbishop Laud. They then were delivered, as a reward for his services in the cause of the Parliament, to Hugh Peters. In his hands, as well as while Clark had them, corruptions in the text, to answer the ends of the party of which they were both zealous members, are supposed to have been made in them, particularly to subject the sovereign power to the people.

In Dr. Barnard's *Clavi Trabales*, p. 94, there is unimpeachable evidence of the corruption of many passages as now printed in the Clarendon Press edition of Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity." The conclusion of one of the passages cited by Dr. Barnard out of the copy he had examined is as follows:—

"If private men offend, there is the magistrate over them which judgeth; if magistrates, they have their prince; if prince, there is Heaven, a tribunal before

which they shall appear, on earth they are not accountable to any."

Compare this with many passages in the eighth book, and the chapter, "Of the Authority for making Laws;" for instance,—

"If the wickedness of the ministry transfers their right unto the king, in case the king be as wicked as they, to whom shall the right descend? There is no remedy; all must come to desolation at length, as the family of Brinn will have it, '*unto the godly among the people.*'"—(Vol. iii. p. 346.)

Surely we can trace Hugh Peters in these words.

If, however, any evidence were required of the gross corruptions and highly dangerous system of argument which is diffused through the greater part, of the eighth book particularly, of the "Ecclesiastical Polity," and on this ground, and for this reason, the unwarrantable impropriety of its issuing from the Oxford Press as the production of its supposed author, full evidence may be found in the ominous and interesting conversation which occurred between Charles I. and Lord Saye.

His lordship enforcing some revolutionary speculation on the King, expressed astonishment that his Majesty should dissent from a line of argument which Mr. Hooker had advanced in its defence. The King replied, the books alleged to be Mr. Hooker's were not his. But he would allow them to be Mr. Hooker's, and consent to what his Lordship proposed to prove out of these books, "if he would but consent to the judgment of Mr. Hooker

in the other five that were the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker\*."

This was placing the question in an uncontrovertible point of view. For never was "judicious" more unworthily bestowed, if the author of the first five and the last three books of the "Ecclesiastical Polity" be the same person.

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\* pp. 149, 176.



## CHAPTER VIII.

**B**EFORE the Archbishop took his departure from Venice, he had committed to Bedell's care the manuscript of Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent. He was naturally anxious to secure so precious a charge against the chances of loss or detriment which necessarily attended his journey to England. The original Italian edition was not published till some time after his residence in England. It appeared in 1619. He superintended it whilst it passed through the press. The accuracy of this edition has been questioned by some Roman Catholic writers. But this accusation is as false as that of Pellavicini respecting the correctness and validity of the documents which Father Paul had appealed to and used. Fortunately for our historian's character, and for the truth of the statements he advanced, Pellavicini did not write till fifty years after the Council was held. So that if the ingenuity of the Italian proficients in deceit and falsehood could have forged a plausible fabrication, they would not have allowed one year, instead of fifty, to pass till their statement was emblazoned in all the modest garbs of truth. Marco Foscarini<sup>a</sup> observes that the original of the history of the

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<sup>a</sup> Tom. i. lib. iv. pp. 353, 354. Padua, 1763.

Council of Trent is still extant in the writing of Marco Franzano, the amanuensis of Father Paul, with the author's corrections between the lines and in the margin, and exactly agreeing with the London edition, except in the title, which in the original, as in the German one, is simply *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino de Pietro Soave Polano*<sup>b</sup>. King James I. employed, with the approbation of Archbishop Abbot, the tutor<sup>c</sup> of the precocious Henry, Prince of Wales, to translate the History of the Council of Trent<sup>d</sup> into Latin. Sir Adam Newton translated the first six books, and Mr. Bedell the two last. Bishop Burnet mistakes in attributing the translation of two books only to Sir Adam, for a letter of his is extant in the Harleian manuscripts, an extract of which has been published by Dr. Birch, which proves the above statement to be correct.

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<sup>b</sup> This name by anagram is made Paolo Sarpio Veneto, in which is conveyed his family name, his surname, and country.

<sup>c</sup> Birch's Life of Prince of Wales, p. 282.

<sup>d</sup> How very high a most competent judge places the execution of the work that Father Paul had imposed on himself in his History of the Council of Trent:—"Fides ei abunde constat, ex scriptoris probitate, integritate, fide, diligentia plane admirabile, tum in eruendis ex tenebris, tum in evolvendis, tum in historicis ordinem pulcherrimum dirigendis, tot et rerum et annorum scriptis, immensis laboribus atque impensis, ab eo conquisitis simul et in unum collectis. Ex Registris, Diariis, Hypomnematis, commentariis, archivis fideissimis, autogravis ipsis et authenticis eorum scriptis qui consilio isti non interfuerunt modo, sed et praeferunt, contexta et conscripta illa Historia, calumnias tuas et convitia nec metuit nec curat."—*Crakanthorp, Defensio Ecol. Anglie.*, pp. 160, 161.

The Archbishop had also committed to Bedell the valuable collection of letters written weekly during the contests between the Jesuits and Franciscans concerning the efficacy of grace. But unluckily they were lost, and have never been recovered. Sir Isaac Newton has declared that his *Tractatus de Radiis*\*, &c., was a great and valuable addition to scientific knowledge, and that to him we are indebted for the discovery of the phenomena of the rainbow.

On the first Sunday in Advent in the year 1617, the Archbishop preached to the Italians resident in London in Mercer's Chapel. Three editions of this sermon were published, one in Italian<sup>†</sup>, one in

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\* "De Radiis Visûs et Lucis in Vitris Perspectivis et Iride Tractatus, Marci Antonii De Dominis per Joannem Bartolum in lucem editus. In quo inter alia ostenditur ratio instrumenti cujusdam ad clare videndum, quæ sunt valde remota excogitati. Venetiis, 1611. Apud Thomam Baglionum illustrissimo atque excellentissimo D. Joanni Baptistæ Marchioni Montis Sanctæ Mariæ totius Venetæ Militiæ pedestris Præfecto Generali, &c. Domino colendissimo."

† "Predica fatta da Mons. Marco Antonio di Dominis Archiv. di Spalato. La Prima Dominica dell' avvento quest' anno 1617, in Londra, nella Cappella detta delli Merciarî ch' è la chiesa degl' Italiani. In Londra appresso Giovanni Billio, 1617."

"Concio habita Italica. A Reverendo Patre Marco Antonio De Dominis Archiepiscopi Spalatonsi, primo die Dominico adventus, anno 1617. Londini in Mercatorum Capella coram Italicis ibi commorantibus et aliis honorificis in illa synaxi et convent. In versum 12 cap. xiii. Epistolæ ad Rom. Italicæ prius ab autore promulgata et inde Anglico tandem a Theologis, studioso latinitate donata. Rom. xiii. ver. 12. Nox præterit dies appropinquavit. Exuamus ergo opera tenebrarum et induamur arma lucis. Leovardie, apud Johannem Starterum Bibliopolam, anno 1618."

English, and one in Latin. In this very beautiful discourse, full of eloquence and clear scriptural illustration, he recapitulates his charge against the Church of Rome, and vindicates his secession from her fold with all the ardour of sincerity and in the most impassioned strain of piety. His text was taken from St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, xiii. 12, "The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light." After the division of his subject, which we need not transcribe, as our object is only to quote such passages as tend to explain the feelings he entertained towards the Church of Rome, and the reasonableness of them, there is the following passage. It contains an exposition of the views he embraced, and the hopes he appeared to exult in, of a reunion of the Churches of Christendom:—

"Before we undertake the handling of these particulars, we are to present ourselves in hearty prayers before the throne of the divine Majesty, humbly requesting our heavenly Father first to cast the tender eyes of mercy upon His universal holy Church, and that it would please Him, by His Spirit, to unite all Christian Churches in one only true, pure, and holy faith; to combine them in perfect charity, to extinguish all disunions, to make up all rents and schisms, to mollify all hardened hearts, that they may cast off their obstinacy and lay aside all human respects and designs, that so all obstacles hindering this so important union may be removed."

The following extract is selected for the inge-

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nious and eloquent exposition of the text, "A bruised reed shall He not break, and the smoking flax shall He not quench:"—

"Our Saviour Christ did find Judea to be a broken reed, whereby is insinuated that the Jews were not at that time so loudly sounding in setting forth the glory of God as formerly they were. And in truth, that people then were more guided by the superstitious traditions of their vain rabbins, than by the Holy Scriptures. Wherewith our Saviour also upbraideth them, saying, 'Why do ye, by your traditions, transgress God's commandment?' And the very same now-a-days is to be found under the papacy, where much more account is made of the Pope's commandments than of God's; the committing of adultery being reputed gallantry, but the eating of flesh upon Friday a sacrilege worthy of fire and faggot. As for the Gentiles, Christ found them smothering flax, not altogether put out, but somewhat smoking, by reason of that small and weak knowledge of God which the glimpse of the law of nature afforded them. And therefore, in conclusion, an universal and common night did overspread all, both Jew and Gentile. And if Zachary, the father of the great Baptist, had not acknowledged the nightly darkness wherein both himself and the rest of the people remained, he would not have sung that Christ was the Day-spring from on high, 'to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death.' Surely that which we read in the book of Job may be truly understood as well as of Judaism as of Gentilism, and 'He hideth the light in His hand, and commandeth it to come again.' Whereby is given us to understand that God, before that He sent the light of His own Son into the world, did hold the light of the knowledge of God clasped up in His hand, so

that howsoever some glimmering beams darted through the clefts between the fingers, yet He did reserve the wide opening of His hand till the fulness of time."

The views which he entertained respecting the points in which the Church of Rome erred, are forcibly stated in the passages which we shall sub-join. The language in which they are conveyed, though perhaps too metaphorical, admirably displays the tyranny and selfishness of the papal power. A tendency, however, may be discovered in some sentences towards the opinion that the gross corruptions of the Roman Church have not deprived her of the superintending guidance of the Lord. Yet perhaps his figurative style led him to express himself more strongly than he intended:—

"The Church of God is said to be *castrorum acies ordinata*, 'an army set in array.' And, in truth, the whole life of man is a warfare upon earth. But this warfare of the Church and this mighty army, in my opinion, may be more fitly resembled to an armada on the sea than to a march on the land. In which regard the Church is called 'a merchant's ship bringing food from afar.' And our Saviour Christ being in a ship, did then most lively represent His Church, as is very elegantly declared by the holy Fathers. Christ hath His collection of many ships of war, that is, a collection of many particular Churches, whereof he is the Head and General. Against this navy there are in the sea of this world openly set out many other ships of war under the conduct of the devil, which are the troops of diabolical sects and superstitious infidels, the enemies of Christ. And in his warfare I, to my great

grief, behold the ships that are under the same Captain and Commander, our Saviour Christ, to pursue one another with no less, nay, perhaps with more hatred, than if they were indeed the ships of the enemy. The Church of Rome, and those that follow the conduct of it, hate to the death the reformed Churches, and the reformed Churches hate them. I would fain set up right my auditors in a great and common mistake, if so be that ye think the reformed religion to be another religion wholly different from the Roman. The religion of both is, in the main essentials and fundamentals, the very same. Both have the same Christ for their Lord and Master, both are founded by the same apostles, both have and profess the same Gospel. But to the end we may understand the estate of both the Roman and reformed Churches, I mean to hold myself to my similitude of ships and navigation. The voyage of the militant Church is a continual sailing in the ocean of this world, amidst a thousand shelves and rocks, gulphs and quicksands, where no shore nor land is to be seen. For our pilgrimage here 'is in faith, and tendeth to the attaining of things invisible;' 'we walk by faith, and not by sight;' 'we see now through a glass darkly, but then we shall behold face to face;' 'we look not on the things that are seen, but on the things which are not seen; for the things that are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal.' And the navigation wherein the Church militant is employed tendeth to spiritual things, which are not seen. And surely in sea voyages, amidst the main, where no landmark can be seen for the direction of the ship, the only means of guidance for navigation consisteth in the using of a good compass, having a needle well touched with the loadstone; as also in having a shipman's card, or sea-map, justly quartered and coasted. He that without these, or with a false compass or map, saileth out

of all sight of shore, may be said to wander in utter darkness and midnight, though it be at noontide. And, contrariwise, he that is furnished with a true compass, though he sail in the deep of sea and of night, yet he enjoyeth the day and cleareth his passage on all occasions.

"Now, for the difference of the reformed ships and the Roman, it is not in the bottom, nor in the tackling, but only in the compass. The Roman ship is a good vessel, well built, not rotten, nor fallen in pieces; it is furnished with masts, with yards, with cordage, with cables, with anchors; it hath an excellent sea-map; the passengers and common soldiers in it are all under the colour of one and the same General, our Saviour Christ. And in these there is no difference between this ship and the reformed.

"But I find one main difference between them, whence also arises innumerable other disparities; and it is, that the pilot who sits at the stern of the Roman ship, having thrown aside the ordinary compass, and leaving the use of the approved sea-map, hath, out of his own capricious conceit, devised a new card and contrived a new-found compass of his own, whose needle hath no aspect toward the pole or touch at all of the loadstone.

"Suitably also hereto hath he, out of his own head, framed certain cardinal winds, which serve only for his card, nay, which is worse than this, he hath intruded into the possession of governing the helms of all the ships that rode in his company; and from every of them he hath taken away the use of the ordinary compass, and, beating the mariners and overawing them by tyranny, (who otherwise would do well and perform their office aright,) will have no nay, but all those ships must dance attendance after his. And so, for that he useth no true compass nor card, he ringleads them all to wreck, and they follow him fast enough without light through the thickest darkness. For the unfolding of this metaphor, I say, in a word, that the Bishop



of Rome at this present, and for many years past, leaving the traveller's true sea-card, the Holy Scriptures, and the unmoveable north pole, the aim at heaven and heavenly things, and propounding to himself one only port, his own greatness and temporal pomp, hath in his devised compass quartered out his own counterfeit winds, which must blow for that haven; they are, dominion over all other Churches, mastery over the keys, infallibility of his judgment, and his authority in things temporal, even over princes.

"As for the poor passengers and common soldiers, who are transported and blindly clapt up under the hatches in these wandering ships, he hath, to amuse them, added to his false card many bastard winds, painted out in gilded and flourishing lines, namely, our own and others' merits, invocation of saints, religious worship of images, the treasure of indulgences, the efficacy of masses and of priestly absolutions, Agnus Dei's, hallowed beads and holy water. By these and suchlike winds, never found in the true ancient compasses, and whereof the ancient pilots of the Church never heard any news, by these blasts will he have his followers to sail, whereby they are carried headlong into many most important errors. The only cause of all this mischief is that arch-pilot: for if he were removed, or could be persuaded to leave his own monstrous chimerical compass, and to betake himself to the usual and ancient guide, presently defacing all those false winds, verily the goodly fleet of the Catholic Church would easily be set right, and holding the safe and sure way (as the reformed companies have done), would approach to the true haven of eternal bliss. True it is that these reformed Churches, being misled by this wandering guide, did sometime follow that vain and deceitful compass. But at length they have better bethought themselves, and casting out that strange intruding pilot, they

have yielded up their ships to be governed by their own true steersman, such as God Himself hath ordained. And so using the infallible card of the Holy Scriptures, and the true compass quartered out into the four ancient cardinal winds of the four first general councils, and seconded by the under winds of the holy Fathers, they make a happy voyage, and, without wandering, arrive at the appointed haven of salvation. And this is the miserable night of manifold errors wherein so many poor souls suffer themselves to be hoodwinked and lulled asleep, from which we are rescued by the Almighty hand of God. And therefore let us yield Him all possible thanks that this night is passed."

There are many passages of great power, like these, which I would wish to present to my readers, but I feel that, perhaps, I have trespassed already too much upon them.

The effect of these sermons, both when preached and afterwards when printed, was very alarming to the members of the Church of Rome. In the same year in which they appeared, a reply to the "Manifestation of the Motives" was published. This was the book in which the secession of the Archbishop of Spalatro was announced. In the title-page there is no printer's or author's name given, nor date. This book\*, though containing nearly three hundred pages, is neither remarkable for learning, ingenuity, nor argument. It is filled with defamation

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\* "Monseig' —fate Voi, or the Discoverie of the Dalmatian Apostate M. Antonius De Dominis and his Bookes, by C. A. to his friend P. R., a Student of the Lawes of the Middle Temple. *Permissu superiorum*, 1617."

and abuse. The author labours to prove that the Archbishop was under the direct control of the devil, and to record his apostacy, and the happy guardianship to which he had consigned him, he indites this notable syllogism, in which he assumes, as a subject proved, that the father of lies had claimed him for his own :—

“The devil persuadeth or induceth no man to forsake or to embrace the true religion. But, as has been shewn, it was no other than the spirit of the devil that induced the Bishop to forsake the Catholic and to embrace the Protestant religion. Therefore, neither the Catholic can be false, nor the Protestant the true religion.”

The book, however, is remarkable for one sentence, which was afterwards quoted in the examination which took place previous to the Archbishop's leaving England by command of the King. The sentence is,—

“In my opinion, as he hath shamed himself already by leaving his country, so will he shame you also by his coming thither again.”

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<sup>a</sup> John Sweet was supposed to have been the author of this book.



## CHAPTER IX.

ON the 14th of December, 1617, and one year after the arrival of the Archbishop in England, he assisted at the consecration of some bishops in Lambeth Chapel. It is an interesting speculation to endeavour to discover what sophistical refutation the impugnors of the validity of English ordination would pretend in derogation of the consecration of the prelates whom this Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church assisted in elevating to the highest order of the priesthood.

This is a subject of great interest, and so far as I am acquainted with the subject, it has never been brought to bear upon the controversy raised by the Church of Rome as to the invalidity of orders in the Church of England, by reason of the assumed failure occasioned, as is asserted, by the irregular consecration of Archbishop Parker in the reign of Elizabeth. One might have supposed, that after the complete refutation that was given to this slanderous invention some years after it was put forth, it had died away and been forgotten with other fabrications of a similar kind. But it is not so. For in our times the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland has renewed the defamatory invention. The present appears a suitable occasion to examine

the subject, when fresh matter, or at least some valuable information that has not been applied to the elucidation of the question, seems to have great weight in adjusting this old and now renewed fabrication. In the writer's estimation, the subject would not be now worthy of examination, except that to weak minds, uneducated and undisciplined in such controversies, an artful disputant may employ it to promote the sinister designs by which some wily foe may labour to seduce the unwary.

In the year 1559, on the 17th of December, Matthew Parker was consecrated in Lambeth Chapel by William Barlow, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, and then elect of Chichester; John Story, late Bishop of Chichester, and then elect of Hereford; Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, and John Hodgkin, Suffragan Bishop of Bedford. An original instrument of the rites and ceremonies used on this occasion, corresponding exactly with the Archbishop's register, is still carefully preserved in Bennet College library, which proved of great service some years afterwards, when the story was first invented that Parker was consecrated at the Nag's Head, Cheapside.

We shall now briefly state the allegations of the inventors of this fable, and the answer as summarily given by Archbishop Bramhall, which he fully substantiated by abundant proofs and irrefragable reasoning.

The Romish statement is to this effect. In the beginning of the reign of James I., between forty

and fifty years after the consecration of Archbishop Parker, two Jesuit priests, Father Talbot and another, put forth the following account of the consecration:—

“The Protestant doctors which were designed for bishoprics in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, had prevailed upon Anthony Kitchen, Bishop of Llandaff, to give them a meeting at the Nag’s Head in Cheapside, in hope he would ordain them bishops there. The Bishop of Llandaff, through Bishop Bonner’s threatening, refused. Being deceived in their expectations, and having no other means to come to their desires, that is, to obtain consecration, they resolved to use Mr. Story’s help, an apostate religious priest, who having borne the name of bishop in the time of King Edward the Sixth, was thought to have sufficient power to perform that office, especially in a case of such necessity as they pretended this to be. He having cast off together with his religious habits all scruple of conscience, willingly went about the matter, which he performed in this manner:—Having the Bible in one hand, and they all kneeling before him, he laid it upon every one of their heads or shoulders, saying, ‘Take this authority to preach the Word of God sincerely,’ and so they rose up bishops of the new Church of England.”

Archbishop Bramhall’s<sup>a</sup> reply to this is as follows:—

“So the controversy between them and us is this:—they say that Archbishop Parker and the rest of the Protestant bishops in the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign, or at least sundry of them, were consecrated at the Nag’s Head in Cheapside together, by Bishop Story alone, or

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<sup>a</sup> Bramhall’s Works, p. 436. Folio.

by him and Bishop Becon, without ceremony, without sacrament, without solemnity, in the year 1558, but they know not what they are before what public notaries, by a new ~~invention~~ *invention* ~~fact~~ *fact*. And all this, they, upon the supposed summary report of Mr. Neale, a single malicious spy, state as private to his own party, long after the business pretended to be done."

"We say Archbishop Parker was consecrated alone at Lambeth, in the church, by four bishops, authorized thereto, by commission under the Great Seal of England, with sermon, with sacrament, with due solemnities, upon the 17th day of December, anno 1559, before four of the most eminent public notaries in England, and, particularly, the same public notary was principal actuary both at Cardinal Pole's consecration and Archbishop Parker's. And that all the rest of the bishops were consecrated at other times, some in the same year, but not upon the same day, and some the year following. And to prove the truth of our relation and the falsehood of theirs, we produce the register of the see of Canterbury, as authentic as the world hath any, the register of the other fourteen sees then vacant, all as carefully kept by sworn officers as the records of the Vatican itself. We produce all the commissions under the Privy Seal and Great Seal of England. We produce the Rolls or records of the Chancery, and if the records of the Signet Office had not been unfortunately burned in King James's time, it might have been verified by those also. We produce all the controverted consecrations published to the world in print, anno 1572, three years before Archbishop Parker's death, whilst all things were fresh in man's memory."

These statements, however strong, acquire all the authority of incontrovertible facts when verified by the genuine production of documents with

which the elaborate work of Courayer's "Validity of English Ordination" is replete. Nor are we only indebted to a foreigner, and a member of the Gallican Church,—though from such a source our vindication is highly valuable, and his labours meritorious and impartial,—for the full exposure of this subtle and malicious invention. Dr. Elrington, the late Bishop of Ferns, has published two very able and learned works on this controversy. With his habitual and peculiar facility in unravelling the complexities of the most entangled sophistries, he laid bare the entire machinery of this plot. The works to which we allude are his "Answer to Gandolphy," and his "Reply to Ward's reprinted Controversy of Ordination."

In this state the controversy remained till the year 1824, when the bishops of the Church of Rome, being under examination before the House of Lords, renewed their allegations against the validity of orders in the Church of England, and under circumstances which shew how very essential to her interests and character she deems the continued maintenance of a belief in this fabrication. The persons examined on this occasion, unlike some of the chieftains of their Church distinguished for ability, presumed still to assert the invalidity of the orders of the Church of England. We have indeed fallen on evil days in our controversy with the Church of Rome. Peter Walsh, the celebrated author of the "Irish Remonstrance," had such respect for his own character, and the means by



which the doctrines of his Church ought to be maintained, that he scorned the adoption of fables and libels in order to excite hostility to the Church of England. He manfully confesses "That the ordination in the Protestant Church of England is valid according to the public doctrines of the Roman schools themselves, and the ancient rituals of all the Catholic Churches, Latin and Greek." Bossuet was of the same opinion. And Father Davenport, both in his treatise on the Thirty-nine Articles, and in his *Apologia Episcoporum*<sup>b</sup>, fully subscribed to the validity of orders in the Church of England.

But we must turn from these luminaries of their Church, and canvass the opinions of those who now set themselves up as the guides and defenders of it.

Dr. Doyle, one of the bishops of the Church of Rome, was asked:—

"Do the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Ireland acknowledge the ordination in the Protestant establishment to

<sup>b</sup> "Charles I. was particularly pleased with a work of Franciscus a Sancta Clara, alias Father Davenport. It was designed to bend the Roman Catholic system, as nearly as it could be, to the Protestant. But however it gratified the English monarch, at Rome it was immediately condemned, and the writer summoned to appear before a tribunal, where to appear is to be guilty."—(*Disraeli, Commentaries on Charles I.*, vol. i. p. 176.) The work of Davenport was entitled *Deus Natura et Gratia*.

"Archbishop Laud refused permission for the publication of the *Apologia Episcoporum*, as appears from his answer to the seventeenth article of his impeachment."—(*Athens Oxon.*, vol. ii.) It was published at Coloniz. Agrippinz, 1640.

be carried on in an uninterrupted succession as in the Church of Rome \* ?”

Dr. Doyle answered :—

“The ordination of bishops was one thing, and their mission, or spiritual jurisdiction, is another thing. We have some doubt as to the validity of ordination of English bishops of the Establishment. That doubt does not arise from the manner of ordination. But it arises with regard to the valid ordination of one of the Archbishops of Canterbury, I mean Matthew Parker. It is a matter of fact about which we cannot be well acquainted, and therefore a doubt remains on our minds. Then, as to the mission which a bishop, when validly ordained, has or has not, we do think that no bishop outside the pale of the Roman Catholic Church has this due mission.

“*Question.* The doubt you have stated applies to the Established Church in England, does any such doubt exist respecting the Church in Ireland ?

“*Answer.* I cannot state, without adverting to the history of that period. I am not aware whether the succession was kept up in Ireland or not. I believe all the bishops who were in the country in the time of Mary were deposed, and bishops sent from this country to take their sees.”

The fable of the Nag’s Head enabled the Church of Rome to make false assertions respecting ordination in the English Church. But this could not apply to Ireland. Who can believe that so able an advocate as Dr. Doyle was ignorant of a well-known fact connected with the apostolicity of the Pro-

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\* Examination before the Committee of the House of Lords in 1824-5. Dr. Doyle’s Evidence.

testant Church in Ireland? If he did not know it, why doubt the validity of ordination? Before he doubted, ought he not to have inquired; and if he did not inquire, ought he to have doubted? This is certainly a curious example of building opinions upon no foundation. It is not the first example with the members of that Church to cling to doctrines which they cannot explain, and to build a creed upon assertions and false stories. But he ought to have known and acknowledged that instead of English bishops being sent to Ireland, there were nine Protestant bishops in Ireland at the time of Archbishop Parker's consecration. One of these, Bishop Bale, of Ossory, was named in the commission, and appointed by Elizabeth to perform, or unite in performing, the ceremony of his elevation to the see of Canterbury; and the naked fact, that though he was so nominated in the commission, and not employed in the ceremony, is evidence incontrovertible that a sufficient number of qualified bishops were in England for the purpose without pressing him into the service, and withdrawing him from a sphere of duty in which he so zealously laboured.

In the year 1613, a person named Fitzherbert had doubted the authenticity of the documents in Lambeth Palace. Four priests were allowed by Archbishop Abbot to examine them. They, too, were informed that they or any others might have access to them whenever they pleased. To Courayer afterwards was made the same offer; and the fact is,

that none of the persons who ever examined them presumed to doubt their authenticity. Though they are now open for inspection, none of the advocates or asserters of the invalidity of orders in the Church of England would presume to appeal to them. For, if the experiment were made, they would be forced to acknowledge their correctness, or impugn their authenticity by arguments and facts satisfactory to the public. Neither of these would be convenient to adopt.

With these preliminary statements, we now come to apply the case of Antonius De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, to establish the validity of orders in the Church of England. Supposing any deficiency in Parker's case, which we have sufficiently established does not exist, we adduce the instance of Spalatro to the objectors on the part of the Church of Rome, and shall be glad to learn the reply which their ingenuity shall invent. In the year 1617, the Archbishop assisted at a consecration of two bishops at Lambeth Palace. Camden states the circumstances as below<sup>d</sup>.

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<sup>d</sup> "Anno 1617, December 14, Nicholas Fenton, S.Th. D. Rector Ecclesie Sancte Marie de arcibus Londini, et Gregorius Montaigne Decanus Westmoriensis legitime electi, hic in Lincolniensem, ille Bristoliensem, rite in Episcopos consecrantur, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensis, Episcopo Londinensi, Episcopo Eliensi, Episcopo Roffensi, Episcopo Leichfieldiensi et Archiepiscopo Spalatensi manum imponentibus, D. Sutione concionante."—(*Camdeni Appar. Annal.*, p. 28.)

Of one of the two bishops consecrated by the Archbishop of Dalmatia we shall add a few particulars.

We request that it may be borne in mind that Dr. Doyle acknowledged,—

"We have some doubt with regard to the validity of the ordination of the English bishops of the Establishment. *That doubt does not arise from the manner of ordination*, but it arises with regard to the valid ordination of one of the archbishops of Canterbury, I believe, Matthew Parker."

This objection does not apply to the manner of ordination, but to the fact whether the bishop who ordained or consecrated Parker was himself a bishop. This was the objection, and this only.

Dr. George Montaigne, as Bishop of Lincoln, assisted at the following consecrations. We shall take the extracts from Camden:—

"Anno 1618, Aprilis 18, Martinus Fotherby consecratur Episcopus Sarum Lambethæ, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Episcopo Lond. Episcopo Lincolnensi, manum imponentibus."—(*Camdeni Appar. Annal.*, p. 28.)

"Anno 1620, Julii 9, Robertus Tolsonus consecratur Episcopus Sarum Lambethæ. *Manus imposuerunt Lincoln. Roffen. Castr. D. Davenant concionem.*"—(*Ibid.*, p. 31.)

In the same year we find the following entry:—"Georgius Montaigne translatus a sede Lincolnensi ad Londinensem."—(*Ibid.*, p. 39.)

And, as Bishop of London, he is thus employed:—"Anno 1621, Nov. 11, D. Williams custos magni sigilli et decanus Westm. consecratus Episc. Lincoln. in Collegiata Ecclesia Sancti Petri: *manus imposuerunt. Wigorn. Eliens. Oxon. et Landavensis, a Rege speciali autoritate delegati.*"

"Anno 1621, Nov. 18, D. Davenant in Episcopum Sarum, Valentinus Cary in Episc. Exon. Guil. Laud in Episcopum Menovensem consecrantur in Capella Palatii Episcopi Lond.

"*Manus imposuerunt Londinenses. Wigorn. Oxon. Eliens. et Landavensis.*"

When Montaigne was made Bishop of Lincoln, the Archbishop of Spalatro, who assisted in the ceremony of imposition of hands, was a bishop of the Church of Rome as fully as any one who ever filled that office. Then who is the Roman Catholic that can deny that George Montaigne was a bishop of the Church of Christ? And were not the six bishops whom he consecrated, and amongst them Laud, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as the prelates in whose elevation to the episcopal office they took part, bishops of the Church of Christ? If they were, what becomes of the fable of the "Nag's Head?" If they were not, what invalidates their apostolicity? Not the manner of ordination, for that is not the ground of objection against Archbishop Parker; not that Montaigne was not consecrated a bishop; not that Antonio De Dominis was not consecrated an archbishop of the Church of Rome, for the most illustrious and most reverend lords cardinals, the supreme inquisitors, in the form of the process which they issued against him, designate and thus acknowledge him by this title; and in the inscription at his grave, though full of coarse and bitter words, yet they record that he was the Archbishop of Dalmatia.

Dr. Slevin, late Professor in the Irish College at Salamanca, and afterwards Prefect of the Dunboyno Establishment at Maynooth, was asked :—

"Do you consider that there is any thing spiritual, properly speaking, that attaches itself to the character of that Primate of Ireland who is recognised by law ?

*Answer.* With regard to the power of order, the Protestant Archbishop of Armagh *may* possess it: this depends entirely upon the validity of his ordination and consecration, a point upon which I do not presume to decide. The validity of the Anglican ordination has always been questioned, and is questioned to this day. A great deal has been written on both sides, and the matter still remains doubtful among Catholics.

*Question.* You mean questioned as a matter of fact?

*Answer.* Merely as a matter of fact, because for the validity of any sacrament we require that the *matter and form* instituted by Christ should be applied by a proper minister. Applying this principle to the Anglican ordination, the first question that occurs is, whether the minister who ordained the first bishops was the minister instituted by Christ, that is, whether he himself was a lawfully ordained bishop. The second question is, whether the person ordaining employed the proper matter and form in ordination. Doubts have arisen on these two points, and hence it is still a question with us whether the Anglican ordination be valid or not."

He was also asked to explain what is meant by the matter of ordination as distinguished by the form? and he answered:—

"The form of any sacrament consists in certain words; the matter consists in material elements, or sensible signs, instituted by Christ. The matter of the sacrament of orders, according to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, consists *in the delivery of the instruments* employed in the sacrifice of the mass and in the imposition of hands."

I am anxious to make the argument derived from the case of the Archbishop of Spalatro assisting at

the consecration of a bishop according to the service of the Church of England as complete as possible. I therefore wish to set the authority of these eminent dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church right as to the doctrines of their own Church. For this purpose we state that *imposition of hands is the only matter of the sacrament of orders*. These witnesses must have been aware that the delivery of the instruments is not used in our Church, and that they are in his; the omission of them constituted an additional argument against the validity in our form of ordination.

In the first place, it must be acknowledged that the Church of Rome recognises the orders of the Greek Church, and there is no delivery of the instruments of sacrifice by that Church.

Secondly, the rituals and pontificals of the Church of Rome itself do not include the delivery of the instruments. Let a single instance be produced from Morin, Mabillon, or Martenè.

Thirdly, the Council of Trent refers solely to the imposition of hands, and says not one word of the delivery of the instruments\*.

But it may be said that even the infallible Church sometimes makes alterations, and that the authorities I have adduced are antiquated and out of use.

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\* "Cum scripturæ testimonio et patrum unanimo consensu, perspicuum sit per sacram ordinationem, quæ verbis et signis exterioribus perficitur gratiam conferri, dubitare nemo debet ordinem esse vere et proprie unum ex septem sanctæ ecclesiæ sacramentis; inquit enim apostolus resuscites gratiam Dei, quæ est in te per impositionem manuum mearum."—(Sess. xxiii. c. 3.)



Well, the advocates of the Church of Rome shall not want my concurrence in this statement, nor shall I refuse to accompany them in the search for authorities to support this opinion. Among the books used at the Dunboyne Establishment at Maynooth, of which Dr. Slevin was the head, he handed in to the commissioners of education one on canon law, of which he was the professor. He stated that the students at Maynooth used and he taught Cabassatius, the author of *Theoria et Praxis Juris Canonici*. Now I suppose there can be no objection to our adopting the opinion of this canonist on the point in dispute; we may wonder how he could have taught one doctrine from this author, and swear that another was the received dogma of his Church. Cabassatius asserts, "That imposition of hands in ordination, particularly if they be accompanied with express collation of the Holy Ghost, do confer grace beyond all doubt, is proved by various passages of Scripture'."

Another of the class-books used at Maynooth and taught by the professor of canon law is the *Theologia Moralis* of Bailly. In this book, after proving that the imposition of hands is the outward visible rite upon which the sacrament of orders depends, he most lucklessly employs these words:—"Neither the delivery of instruments nor the anointing of the head or hands ought to be considered as the essential matter of ordination." And in the fourth pro-

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<sup>1</sup> *Jur. Can. Theor. et Praxis*, t. i. p. 361.

position of the same chapter he adds,—“Imposition of hands, *and that only*, is the essential matter of the sacrament of ordination.”

From the foregoing statements we draw the following conclusions.

Doctor Doyle admitted the validity of the orders in the Church of England, if the person who consecrated Archbishop Parker was a bishop.

First, then, there were nine bishops of the Protestant Church in the reign of Elizabeth in Ireland; they consecrated any new bishops that were required for that country. So that in Ireland, by Dr. Doyle's admission, there is no alleged invalidity of orders in that branch of the Church.

Secondly, the undenied fact of there being bishops in Ireland who could, if required, have assisted at Parker's consecration, weakens, if there were no other grounds of objection, the force of the allegations made by the inventors of the “Nag's Head” fable. Besides, one of these nine bishops was nominated in the commission to consecrate Parker. He did not attend the ceremony. Must not his absence be accounted for by the presence in England of a regularly consecrated bishop?

Thirdly, distinguished men in various branches of the Roman Church have acknowledged the validity of orders in the Church of England; and the priests of the Romish Church, who had doubted till they saw the registry of Lambeth, from that time and for ever after held their peace.

But whatever plausible suspicions were enter-

tained, or rather were professed to be believed, all controversy upon the subject must for ever cease, since the Archbishop of Spalatro was one of the consecrators of a bishop of the Church of England. That bishop so consecrated, we have shewn, was the consecrator of six other bishops. Among these bishops was William Laud, afterwards the Archbishop of Canterbury who presided at the consecration of all the subsequent bishops till his imprisonment and death. As to the statement of Dr. Slevin, that the *matter* of the sacrament of orders must be administered, we have proved that until the authority of the Council of Trent is renounced by the Church of Rome, until it is proclaimed that Dr. Slevin's own Church is schismatical in acknowledging the orders of the Greek Church, which does not use in ordination the instruments of the sacrifice of the Mass, and until the objector anathematizes the class-books of the Dunboyne Establishment, and confutes their authors of ignorance, and heresy, and schism, even against the will of those who think as Dr. Slevin thought, and notwithstanding the oath which he took, the Church of Rome, by her own theory, by her own practice, and by her own laws, must from henceforth acknowledge, in spite of the "Nag's Head" fabrication, that any person who was consecrated by Mark Antonius De Dominis was a bishop of the Church of Christ, according to the requirements necessary to make one, and that all the bishops consecrated by him, and amongst them Laud, were

truly and lawfully, and according to canon law, bishops of the Church of Christ.

One remark more.

One subterfuge may yet be used to escape the force of these observations. It may be said that the old canon decided, "Let a bishop be ordained by two or three bishops." But this canon does not prove that the apostolical commission may not flow even through one channel. Two or three bishops are canonically to be consecrators, for the safety of the consecration, but this does not shew that the Divine Head of the Church would not sanction a commission handed down even in a single link. Indeed, not only are we led by the nature of the case to suppose that some Churches were planted by single apostles, and, therefore, the bishops of such were consecrated by only one consecrator; but among the few scriptural accounts which we possess, we have the record that Timothy was consecrated by the hands of St. Paul<sup>a</sup>, as he says in one place, "by the laying on of my hands," and in another, "with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery;" where we have no reason to suppose that these presbyters were men of apostolical or episcopal character, and where the only hands which we can be sure were lawfully commissioned to confer consecration were those of St Paul<sup>b</sup>.

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<sup>a</sup> 2 Tim. i. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Fisher's Validity, &c., pp. 15, 16.

## CHAPTER X.

**T**HE deadly blow aimed at the Church of Rome by the Archbishop of Spalatro, the publicity of his secession, the abilities and learning by which he had justified and distinguished his conduct, roused all the energies of the Vatican to destroy him by their power or ensnare him by their subtlety. We have traced their proceedings from the moment of his departure from Venice, and have exposed the various snares laid for his caption in the different countries through which he had to pass before he arrived at the Hague. All the Roman Catholic states in Europe assisted the Pope in the effort to prevent the circulation of the Archbishop's writings, in order, if possible, to extinguish their necessary effect in leading mankind to a general re-examination of the great Romish controversy. The Sorbonne at Paris particularly made every exertion in this unrighteous cause. The attempt proved fruitless; for the means adopted to prevent the reading of his works only tended to excite curiosity to consult and study them. The Pope perceived this, and his power having failed to injure or to crush him, he determined to try what the insidious arts of cunning might effect. He was aware that the King of England had employed

every expedient to promote the cause of De Dominis by the circulation of his writings, and thus to widen the breach between the Venetian Senate and the Vatican. When the Bishop of London complained of the unreasonable demands of the Archbishop upon his tenants, and had insisted on a discontinuance of the claims which he had urged against them, the wily ministers of Rome seized this propitious circumstance to weaken the attachment of the King towards him. The clergy, as well as the tenants who were immediately concerned if the intentions of the Archbishop to alter the leases of his predecessor had been carried into execution, loudly complained against him. The instant that the current of popular favour appeared to run in opposition to him, the court of Rome did not permit the auspicious opportunity to escape, but at once resorted to her hereditary alliances—defamation and low intrigue—in order to blight his reputation. While her agents employed these means to taint his reputation in the estimation of those who admired and patronized him, as well for his genius and learning as for the cause he advocated and upheld, he himself was practised on by the cunning flattery, and delusive hopes of gratifying his ambition. The wiliness of this proceeding is a perfect counterpart of the wisdom of the master serpent. If the Archbishop lost ground in the friendship and support of those in whom he had hoped to find protectors from the scourge of persecution, his subtle enemies were well aware, from their own

mode of proceeding and tactics, that possibly he would endeavour to devise some shelter from the storm, and seek some place of safety from the expected assaults of his new foes and late friends. Therefore, while the policy of Rome led her agents with instinctive craft to tarnish his character in the King's mind, at the same moment means were taken to entice him to desert the reformed faith. The essence of this deceit appears in the arrangement of the plan by which it was effectuated; for the inducement held out to him to return to the Church of Rome and enjoy the protection and favour of the Pope, were the reasons which were brought to bear upon the King's feelings to irritate him to withdraw his patronage from the Archbishop. No man was ever better formed by nature, or disciplined by a long education in the school of cunning, to put into operation and at the same time this twofold scheme of mischief, than Gondomar, the crafty ambassador to England from the court of Spain. He was the subtle whisperer of lies, the acute agent in deceitful stratagems now employed, and he performed his office with consummate success, in depriving the Archbishop of royal favour, and inducing him to return to Rome.

This political Jesuit had laboured during a long residence in England to frustrate every plan that was advanced for the promotion of the Protestant and for the discouragement of the Romish faith. It was he that had induced, or rather seduced, James I. to forfeit his honour and to violate his

pledged promise to pardon Sir Walter Raleigh. The merits of the chivalrous and noble-minded adventurer, the learned historian, and the refined courtier, might have pleaded in mitigation of his sentence. Besides, he was a pardoned offender, and thus in his punishment justice was outraged, and mercy robbed of her rightful spoils. But he was sacrificed to the vain and flippant monarch for this reason only, that he loved England and had promoted her interests and glory, and detested the bigoted policy of Spain and Roman counsels<sup>a</sup>. It was Gondomar, too, who had succeeded in rooting the reformed faith out of Bohemia. He even induced the credulous and silly monarch to immolate at the same time the fortunes of his own children. He was so delighted with the success of the sorcery by which he continually drugged his Majesty, that he thus boasted of his triumphs to the Duke of Lerma,—“I have lulled King James so fast asleep, that I hope neither the cries of his daughter and her children, nor the repeated solicitations of his Parliament and his subjects on their behalf, shall ever be able to awake him<sup>b</sup>.” But notwithstanding all the power and homage which his success and

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<sup>a</sup> The reader may see several most interesting papers connected with Gondomar's history in the Harleian Miscellany, in the seventh, eighth, and tenth volumes particularly, respecting Sir Walter Raleigh.

<sup>b</sup> At this time the famous library at Heidelberg was removed to Rome. The mules that carried the books across the Alps had each a silver plate on his forehead, on which were engraven these words, “*Fero Bibliothecam Principis Palatini.*”



triumphs in the art of deception had obtained him from Roman worshippers, he was exceedingly detested by those who despised his policy, and had sufficient penetration to comprehend it. Vere, Earl of Oxford, once administered to him a rebuke, which for bitter and appropriate satire has never been surpassed. The cunning Spaniard was practising his magical charms of flattery upon him for his great actions and mental qualifications, when the Earl of Oxford interrupted him, and remarked,—“I know but of two memorable things in my life, I was born in '88, (the year of the Spanish invasion,) and christened on the fifth of November,” the anniversary of the Gunpowder plot.

Gondomar it was who introduced the undying poison of popery into the family of the Stuarts; at least he revived its malignity. He and his agents awoke its slumbering powers in the heart of the King, by recalling to his recollection his mother's miserable fate. James had been a wanderer in his faith, as he was unstable in all his ways. At one period of his life he had been a member of the Church of Rome, in which he had been baptized; a member of the Church of Scotland, which he afterwards ridiculed and then deserted; and a member of the Church of England, which once he had maligned, and then flattered and fawned on. But he never had a creed. The Spanish ambassador it was who projected the Spanish alliance. Charles I. was the destined husband of the Infanta. But the Duke of Bucking-

ham's interruption in an indecent speculation defeated this design. Yet the very proposal of a matrimonial alliance between the royal families of England and a Roman Catholic monarch took off the delicate edge and point of the national dislike that would otherwise have accompanied a similar project when France, instead of Spain, was to substitute the chosen bride of Charles I. The marriage took place, and immediately a band of chaplains about the Queen managed to obtain, if not ascendancy, certainly a most pernicious and unpropitious influence through her means over the King. Priests and friars interfered in the education of his children. Impressions made and artfully impressed at an early period on the mind are rarely obliterated. The volatile and susceptible feelings of Charles II. never forgot the mischievous doctrines then impressed upon his young heart. He did not forget them when an exile, and he avowed them on his death-bed, by sharing in the rites and ceremonies of the Roman Church. And his brother was the perjured falsifier of his coronation oath, and satisfied himself that he did not break his oath because he had sworn to one that he had forged, and substituted in place of that which Parliament had sanctioned, and to which only the nation had given consent\*.

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\* The circumstance here alluded to is omitted by Hume, Rapin, and Fox, in the *Life of James the Second*. Laing states,—"It is observable that the coronation oath of Scotland was declared by James as repugnant to the religion which he proposed to introduce."—(*History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 155.)

Thus it is plain that one skilful Jesuit, admitted to the court and monarch of England, tainted and corrupted a generation of kings with the leprosy of his religion, and has finally wiped out every trace of a Stuart not only from the heraldry of kings, but even from the peerage of England. In this destruction was involved the virtuous, the unhappy, but the best of his race, the martyred Charles. One son, though brought back to the throne, died in the arms of Rome, and the other lost for ever his kingdom and his throne. Their descendants involved England in civil war, and the last of the doomed race, the Cardinal of York, lived on the bounty and was a pensioner of George the Third and George the Fourth, and died at Rome.

And now Gondomar, this highly educated pro-

Burnet does not appear to have been aware that any alteration took place. He says, "He had such senses given him of the coronation oath, that he either took it as a sin, with a resolution not to keep it, or he had a reserved meaning in his own mind."—(*History of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 347.)

Wodrow, however, mentions the circumstance of an alteration in the oath, but he was not aware of what nature it was, or what parts were omitted.—(*Church of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 201.)

Full information, however, on this most interesting subject, will be found in the "State Tracts," vol. ii. p. 93. Folio. In the passage referred to from Wodrow, it is stated that a similar alteration was made in the coronation oath of Charles I. And Milton says, "Verba quædam ejus jussu crasa fuerint antequam jurasset."—(*Defensio pro Populo Angli.*, Op., tom. ii. p. 311.) Heylin in his Life of Archbishop Laud denies that any alteration was made in the oath, (p. 90); and Charles I. justified himself from this charge, in answer to a remonstrance of the Lords and Commons, in May, 1642.—(*Husband's Collection*, p. 190.)

ficient in deceit, practised his treacherous arts upon King James and the Archbishop of Spalatro. He first insinuated to the King his doubts as to the sincerity of his conversion. This announcement perplexed and irritated his Majesty. He strongly insisted on the purity of his intentions in deserting the Church of Rome. The Ambassador rejoined, "He is a Papist, and I will prove him to be one." The King bound him to his assertion, and demanded evidence. Gondomar retired, promising that, ere many days elapsed, he would produce it, and satisfy his Majesty that all he had declared he would abundantly corroborate. The skilful sorcerer, having poured "the leperous distilment into the King's ear," now sought an interview with De Dominis. The agents of the Church of Rome are never deficient in the machinery of deceit. Certain sly insinuations were now infused into the Archbishop's mind, that neither the homage<sup>4</sup> which his position in the Church he had forsaken and his abilities and learning justly claimed had been bestowed on him, nor had he attained that ecclesiastical elevation to which he might, without presumption, have aspired. Dr. Matthew, the Archbishop of York at this time, was supposed to be dead, but the report was a false one; indeed, it has been conjectured that the invention was a contrivance of the Ambassador's treachery and cunning. And now the success of

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<sup>4</sup> The same plan was tried with Erasmus, but he wisely feared this deceitful patronage, though he had never deserted the Church of Rome. See Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, vol. i. p. 64.

Gondomar's policy began to display itself. For the Archbishop, caught in the meshes of the Ambassador's wiliness, applied to the King to consider his claims in the arrangements which he was called on to make in filling up that vacant see. His interview with his Majesty was such as one might conjecture, when his mind had been charged with the poison of Gondomar's crafty statements. The King neither refused nor granted the request. He was determined to see the play out, and to test to his entire satisfaction the engagement that had been made of proving the Archbishop insincere in his profession of attachment to the reformed faith. The Ambassador, having waited the result of this visit, and guessing how it had terminated, sought an interview with De Dominis. The adroit diplomatist never alluded to Spalatro's visit to the King. He seemed only interested in the fate and fortunes of the Archbishop. He spoke with earnest zeal and animation of the new Pope. He related, with apparently great pleasure, the elevation of Gregory XV.; and in connection with this event, he reminded him, as if incidentally, that he had been the schoolfellow, the early companion, and friend of the Archbishop. He spoke of the interest his Holiness took in him, and how deeply and affectionately he lamented his secession from the Church of Rome. But that he especially felt this interest at the present juncture of his own affairs, when, being raised to the distinction of highest trust and power in the Church, he would have enjoyed the

greatest satisfaction if the Archbishop had permitted him the happy opportunity of contributing to his advancement. Indeed, he might venture to say, that he believed even now, if he could be induced to return, he might select his own terms of reconciliation, and that his ambition might be gratified to any extent that it was in the power of the Pope to concede. The intricacy of the deceit, and yet the simple and natural manner in which the hidden purpose appeared to unravel and expose itself, exhibits the skill of the Ambassador's art in the highest perfection. He conjectured that when he alluded to the ambition of the Archbishop being gratified if he would renounce the Protestant Church, he touched upon the string that would vibrate most sensitively upon his heart, and was calculated to excite every feeling flattering to the reputation of his abilities, his political skill, and his pride. At the moment, perhaps, the thought was passing before the Archbishop's mind that the truth was exactly as stated by Gondomar, that he had not attained that ecclesiastical distinction in the Church he had adopted,—and he might flatter himself, too, by thinking that he adorned it by his eloquence and learning,—which he had possessed in the one he had deserted and so deeply wounded. This neglect of his eminent qualities, he might have remembered, had not arisen from want of opportunity to reward them: at least, the means of bestowing such a favour as would distinctly declare the monarch's estimate of his abilities, and of the

sacrifices to which he had submitted in joining the Church of England, were now in the King's power to afford public evidence of. Yet, instead of at once availing himself of the opportunity, he coldly received his proposal, if he had not, indeed, by his unapproving manner, rejected it. The wily Jesuit, guessing or almost knowing what was passing in the mind of his miserable dupe, saw at a glance all that he required to crown his Satanic diplomacy with victory. He took leave of the Archbishop, and immediately put into operation, with energy and zeal, everything that was needed to bring to a successful issue all his previous labours in artifice and falsehood. He considered that he perceived with sufficient distinctness, that if the Archbishop could return to Rome with personal safety and professional distinction, there was no longer any bond or attraction to detain or induce him to remain in England. Gondomar, therefore, immediately sent a despatch to his master in Spain. He implored him to lose not a moment to solicit the Pope instantly to transmit to him the Archbishop's pardon, and to accompany it with the promise of the most exalted elevation in the gift of his Holiness to confer. He enjoined him, however, to insist, as a necessary compliance with this condition, that he would sign a recantation of the declaration he had made against the Church of Rome, in which he had impugned her faith or impeached her apostolical character. As quickly as possible the pardon of De Dominis arrived, and it was accompanied with an express and positive engagement of his future

elevation as a cardinal. The Ambassador at once hurried to the Archbishop. The previous arrangements and devices he had employed and so cunningly arranged had prepared the mind of De Dominis for some great change in his fortunes. Gondomar found him still leaning to the proposal which he had so adroitly submitted to him in their last interview. It therefore needed no great expenditure of art or cunning to induce him to sign the recantation. Perhaps the honour he is supposed to have long coveted, the attainment of a cardinal's hat, decided him. However, the paper of his recantation was signed. At once, for no further sacrifice could be demanded, Gondomar, now more than ever rich in the spoils of his triumphant diplomatic ingenuity, hurried to the King, and in a rapid, uncourteous manner, so overjoyed was he at the moment, presented to the King the most unimpeachable evidence, "That the Archbishop was a papist, and that he had proved him to be one." His Majesty, as it may well be supposed, was grievously irritated and perplexed. But he determined to act with decision, and deemed it wiser, in order to mark his condemnation in the strongest manner, to wait until the Archbishop conveyed to him the result of his late determination to leave the Church of England and to return to Rome\*.

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\* See *Condemi Apparatus*, p. 78, and his *Epistola*.



## CHAPTER XI.

**H**ERE we pause in the effort to discover and unravel, and, if possible, explain in any probable way, the causes or reasons of the change in the religious views of the Archbishop. We shall, therefore, in this and the following chapter endeavour to account for the influence which the circumstances of England and the opinions of public men may have had upon him, and we shall more especially consider the probable impression which the state of religion at the Synod of Dort and of the parties there may have produced upon his mind, and finally have swayed it.

It is not easy, if indeed it be possible, to ascertain whether De Dominis had been sincere in his original renunciation of the doctrines of the Church of Rome, and whether in part or altogether he rejected her creed, and renounced unreservedly her authority. Rank could not have been the attraction that seduced him; he had attained the highest in the Church he had deserted. Disappointment he may have experienced in the Church to which he united himself in not finding the same willingness he had exhibited for an union of the two creeds. He had advocated with zeal such an union from the first moment of his change. From his leaving Venice to his arrival in England, and

during all the period of his residence in it, to his return to Rome, and while there, even to his death, the hope of a reconciliation, as if it were a charm, seemed never to have faded from his affections or to have died within him. In one of the examinations to which the King compelled him to submit previous to his return to Italy, he professed his undiminished attachment to the Church of England. He considered, indeed, that in both Churches there were some things intolerable and needless to enforce on all. Free will in the first conversion he thought the Church of England was too rigid in denying. This was, doubtless, a grievous error. And on the other side, the maintenance of transubstantiation as a necessary point of belief in the Church of Rome he deemed to be equally extreme. It possibly may have been that, like Cardinal Richelieu, he was enflamed with a maddening ambition, and sought to achieve in England a position similar to that which that remarkable man at one time seemed destined to acquire in the Gallican Church, next the Pope, and in authority and power above all other dignitaries. Such an eminence as Patriarch in England he might have hopelessly aspired to attain. It is, indeed, even reported of Do Dominis that he had dreamed of securing a distinction still more elevated, even the Popedom itself\*. But as he became more intimately

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\* "Cardinalatus, fortè etiam Pontificatus, nam eo te aspirare et inhiare narrat Fidelis, spe illudunt."—(*Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ contra Archiepiscop. Spalatens.*)

acquainted with the Church of England, and experienced with bitter disappointment the changes that passed over the King's mind, he must have perceived that in that fickle and vain monarch there was no fixed principle to be depended on. Least of all was he gifted either with vigour of intellect or resolution of disposition to persevere in any noble purpose. For what dependance could be placed on a sovereign, and at a period of our history when kings were rulers of their dominions more than in name, who at one period patronized Grotius and his system of pacification of religious parties, and immediately afterwards, for political designs and the tricks of state, sustained with all his energy, aided by the abilities and piety of the holiest and most learned men of the Church of England, Gomarus, and the questionable policy, perhaps, of the Synod of Dort, but the undignified demeanour, certainly, of its foremost chieftains?

It may have been at a period very unlike this agitated one in its religious and political tendencies that the Archbishop was first attracted to the Church of England. There were times, indeed, when James himself seemed to veer towards Rome, at least to entertain great relaxation and tenderness respecting her position, and the doctrines which with wiliness and reserve she professed to maintain. At such a

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"Papatum votis omnibus expetis; illi olim certâ spe inhiaveras. Cogitaveras papatum familiæ tuæ alligare; ecclesiæque monarchas relinquere nepotulos tuos in infinitum."—*(Fidelis, anon. in Hypocris. M. Anton. Spel. detect., p. 145.)*

period as this may have commenced the Archbishop's positive change; and seeing a probable patron in so potent a king, he may have been induced to fix his unsettled mind on the Church of England. But his more perfect knowledge of the wavering faith of James and the state of religious opinions in Europe may have taught him that all his expectations were futile or speculative, and must probably eventuate in disappointment.

For these reasons, when kings had such powerful sway over the public mind, it may be profitable slightly to trace the tendencies of the uncertain and changing faith of James. We may thus be better prepared to examine the cause of the vacillations that occurred in the mind of the Archbishop. From the beginning to the end of the career of King James he was a political and theological weather-cock. Baptized by the popish Archbishop of St. Andrews, he execrated the Jesuits. Educated by Presbyterians, he abhorred their Church government. He persecuted the Puritans, though he had been a member of the Kirk of Scotland. He cherished the Arminians in England, and hunted them to the gibbet or the scaffold in the dominions of others. And at last he was almost ready to receive extreme unction from the Church in which he had been baptized. If we were to determine his character from the Hampton Court Conference, we should conclude that he was an enthusiastic admirer of the Church of England, of her ceremonies, and her ritual; and so far he did admire her, as

she was opposed to the Presbyterian form. In Presbyterianism republicanism was involved and encouraged; but the King loved bishops less for their apostolical descent than that they served to strengthen the foundations of monarchy. Hence his aphorism, "No bishop, no king<sup>b</sup>." He did not first convince himself of the Scriptural authority of episcopal government, and, swayed by this conviction, support the Church of England; but through his whole career the selfish principle of the maintenance and preservation of his sovereignty was the first, and, indeed, the sole actuating cause in his mind. He appealed to Scripture and ancient usage as evidence of the apostolic appointment of bishops solely because he considered them to be a bulwark of his throne. On the other hand, if we review his conduct in Scotland before he ascended the throne of England, we should suppose he was enraptured with the simplicity of Presbyterian baldness, and that he execrated as gorgeous, and in his estimation the too popish, ceremonies of the Church of England. When a deputation from the Assembly of Scotland presented an address, his Majesty replied,—“I praise and thank God that I was born into the world at a time when the light of God’s Word shone clearly forth, eclipsed neither by the mists of ignorance nor the false lights of superstition. I bless God that has honoured me to be a

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<sup>b</sup> State Tracts, vol. i. p. 1; Strype’s Annals, vol. iv. p. 201; Harris’s Historical Account of the Life and Writings of James I., p. 29.

king over such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in the world. The Church of Geneva, what are they, and where is their institution? As for our neighbour, the Church of England, their service is an evil-disposed Mass in English; they want nothing but the liftings." And yet, when this same King argued against the said Kirk and in favour of the condemned Church of England, the Archbishop Whitgift exclaimed, as if he wished to be thought inspired, that "he was verily persuaded that the King spake by the Spirit of God."

In Spalatro's estimation of the character of James and its probable effect upon the part that he had purposed to perform in England, whatever was the exciting cause that urged him, he must, when he deeply considered the case, have been greatly influenced by his previous history. He must have seen how irresolute he was in his judgment, how unfixed in his opinions; that he had strayed from the Conventicle to the Church, from one faith to another creed, from the iron rule of the fatalist to the more pliant law of unfettered salvation, and from the policy and principles, almost the faith, of Spain, to the rigid government, as it respected God and man, of the ruling powers of the United Provinces.

But as yet the history of the Synod of Dort had not fully unravelled itself with sufficient distinctness. But immediately after the Archbishop's ar-

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\* Calderwood, p. 246; Walwood's Memoirs, p. 25.

rival in England, and when the applause of his secession from Rome had been hailed with joy by every Protestant state in Europe, he addressed the Synod itself. The position that he had wrought out for himself in public estimation fully justified him in this prominent act. Therefore he addressed a letter to the chiefs of the Confederated Provinces. This letter proves how temperate his views were. He condemns the extreme conduct of some parties at the Synod. He naturally considered, that if the opinions then so violently maintained should acquire a pernicious maturity by being ultimately registered as the decrees of the parties who had representatives at the Synod, the possibility of England and Rome uniting in one common Church, upon which his heart seemed desperately fixed, might have proved a perilous or futile experiment. He says,—“These disgraceful dissensions in your provinces on the subject of religion, affect me with the greatest grief<sup>4</sup>.” This letter was written on the presentation of the first part of his great work, *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*, to the Synod. So important did he consider the discussion in which they were engaged, that he says,—“It is our bounden duty to seek diligently for the counsel of all the reformed Churches.” This letter is dated London, August 17, 1617. He addressed the same parties on the first day of the new year,

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<sup>4</sup> “Istæ foedæ dissensiones in causâ religionis summe me afficiunt dolore.”—(*Epistolæ Eruditorum*, pp. 485, 490.)

1618, and after expressing the sorrow he experienced at the dissensions that had arisen at Dort, he exclaims most feelingly,—“O that the dissentient parties, neglecting all merely human counsels, would allow their hearts to be influenced by that love only which the Holy Spirit pours into the heart\*.” Bishop Overall and Grotius express opinions exactly in the same spirit of peace and meekness<sup>†</sup>.

The proceedings at Dort, with which the Archbishop seemed displeased, were conducted under the royal pleasure, and the direction of the ambassador from England. The deputies to the Synod from the Church were selected on the responsibility of the King. They were intended in some undefined, indeed mysterious, way to represent the Church which did not nominate them. But the policy and the opinions which on many occasions they advocated and upheld, were directly opposed to the conduct observed by the King to De Dominis on his arrival in England. Each party, the Archbishop on one side, and the deputies from his Majesty on the other, were the champions, or rather the maintainers, of most dissimilar sentiments. Both were equally divided as to the adoption of the most suitable means to promote them. Yet both found, and almost at the same time, an equally ardent advocate in the King.

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\* “*Utinam partes dissidentes omnis omnibus purè humanis conciliis à sola caritate quam Spiritus Sanctus in corda nostra infundit dirigi instruique patreantur.*”—(*Ibid.*)

<sup>†</sup> Jeanni Overallle Hugo Grotius, p. 585.



This was the reason that in the selection of the examiners appointed by his Majesty to inquire into the conduct of De Dominis, the main object in view was not so much the condemnation of the Archbishop as the vindication of himself. The results of these inquiries were published by the order of James, and immediately despatched to Sir Henry Wotton at Venice, and circulated generally throughout Europe. The officers who superintended these examinations, and the subsequent circulation of them, were both managed by the King's express arrangement. Yet there are some statements recorded which, if it had been possible to have concealed or denied, would never have been made known. These statements, under the circumstances of their publication, strengthen the supposition that they could not be gainsayed, and were undeniably true. If this view be borne out by the facts of the case, they distinctly prove that the most poisoned statements or calumnies that were ever uttered against the Archbishop had their perfect counterpart and image reflected in the features of the King's own conduct. If the answer of the Archbishop, which we will now set forth, be, as we suppose it was, an incontrovertible truth, it renders still more mysterious his Majesty's policy at the Synod. Besides, if De Dominis had ever been sincere, he must have been convinced, by a comparison of his Majesty's conduct at Dort and the circumstances stated in the Archbishop's answer, of the utter hopelessness of any propitious progress

or termination being ever made in the project which he had been so persevering and ardent to promote, namely, the union of the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches.

The answer of De Dominis to one of the questions put to him by the persons whom his Majesty selected, was as follows:—

“There came into this kingdom in my time a Jesuit from Milan, that he might attempt the conversion of his Majesty and kingdom. Was there ever any inquisition made against him? No. He was peaceably dismissed by his Majesty out of the kingdom, and *with bounty*.”

Very important results were involved in this statement. Its truth neither James nor the examiners of the Archbishop ever attempted to deny. And these results, it ought to be remembered, might have been far different from those which would necessarily be the consequence of that line of policy, and the tendency of the doctrines of which the King had become the approver and promoter at the Synod.

From these statements we proceed to inquire whether the King did not agree in doctrine or in policy with the party there whose opinions were so distasteful to De Dominis. He seemed to act in accordance with them, though in his heart he dissented from them. The appointment of the ambassador and the selection of the bishops and clergy had proceeded from the King. Why then, it may be asked, did he unite in any degree with persons, and chosen too by himself, from whose re-

religious and political opinions he dissented? Above all, why did he select deputies to represent the Church from whom he conscientiously disagreed? We shall proceed to offer some observations on this view of this interesting question.

James adopted the conduct he pursued at Dort in strict obedience to his doctrine of king-craft or state cunning. He allowed no other feeling in the slightest degree to influence him in this matter. Religious opinions were not the primary motives that governed his conduct. It is more correct to say that the maintenance of any opinion or creed mixed little in the motives that ruled his decisions.

The Arminians, whose cause and principles at other times he supported, were united under Barnevelt, and employed by him to undermine the power of Maurice, Prince of Orange. This Prince was an ally and friend of James, and the chief supporter and leader of the contra-Remonstrants. This division in the United Provinces, thus fomented and fostered by Barnevelt, his Majesty believed to be a matter of most dangerous consequence to the preservation of their unity and concord. The peace and happiness of his own dominions he regarded as involved in their repose and in the maintenance of their power. He thought it certain that the Prince of Orange would have been especially involved in disaster. This course of proceeding he carried out in act and speech. He described in the most reproving and ignominious language the conduct which he condemned. To enforce, there-

fore, in every way within his power the interests that were so dear to him, the King sent such persons as deputies to the Synod who, he conceived it probable from their previous conduct, would be inclined to favour, in obedience to their own conscience, the policy he espoused. He therefore selected such divines as would endeavour to carry out the doctrines of the contra-Remonstrants, and be very zealous in the condemnation of their opponents. Yet all his political and theological predilections would have induced him, indeed, consistency would have compelled him, to support the cause of Barneveldt. But his mind was possessed, and poisoned too, with one engrossing passion, and he forgot everything but its indulgence. It ought, too, to be remembered, that his inclination to Spanish alliances and interests was the original motive of his dislike to the United Provinces. Their inhabitants he considered as rebels who had renounced their lawful sovereign. They had chosen a republican form of government, from which he had the strongest aversion. So inveterate was his hatred, that he at one time promised Philip, King of Spain, that he would never make a treaty with the States in which he would acknowledge their freedom. How blinding the policy that contracts a treaty for future years to confine liberty within a narrow sphere!

Thus it appears that the opinions which James

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\* *Regis Acta*, vol. iv. pp. 242—244.

supported at Dort were quite different from those which he had ever advocated. This contrast is remarkably striking as it bears upon his intercourse with the Archbishop of Spalatro, with whom he previously seemed so perfectly to have coincided.

The great accusation urged by the Prince of Orange against Barnevelt was that he had been in treaty with Spain, and was the private agent of the court of Madrid to re-introduce the Roman Catholic religion by means of the Arminian tenets. This, indeed, formed one of the articles of his impeachment, in consequence of which he afterwards suffered on the scaffold<sup>1</sup>. Yet we know from Barnevelt himself, and at a time, too, when falsehood, if he would have employed it, would not have profited him, that he urged the example of James himself in the early stages of the controversy in palliation of his own conduct, that was now reproached with vehement acrimony and visited with deadly vengeance. In his "Apologie, or Holland's Mystere," published the year the Synod was held, and from a copy of that date we now quote, he says:—

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<sup>1</sup> The sudden summons announcing that he was to die on the following day is very touching. He was in the seventy-sixth year of his age when he was beheaded. "Hac ipsâ horâ ad me defertur nuncius, nempe ut ego senex ad mortem crastino die sufferendam preparare me debeam:—

"Ex tristitiæ cubiculo 12 Maii, 1619.

Vestri amantissimus

Conjux, parens, socer et avus

Joannes ab Oldenbarnevelt."

See *Præstan. Virorum Epist.*, p. 582.

"I neither simply accepted nor rejected either party's opinion, since I understand by a second writing and learned instruction of the King of England that both of them might be tolerated without prejudice to the truth and Christian unitie and charitee."

Nay, more, even so late as 1613 the King writes on the 6th of March to the States thus:—

"Having seen in a letter sent to me by the Sieur Caron, their ambassador, the opinions of both parties and the arguments by which they are supported discussed at large, it did not appear to me that either of them were inconsistent with the truth of the Christian faith or the salvation of souls'."

From these statements it would seem that neither the political inclinations of the King nor his love of theological disputation would have induced him to adopt the part he afterwards pursued. In truth, his mind was attracted to the policy he followed by something different from and more powerful than the ordinary impulses that swayed him. Besides, too, while he was under the direction of these new influences that were rankling in his mind, he was, perhaps, without being aware of the source from which it came, under the government and counsel of Archbishop Abbot. The primate, Abbot, had wished to draw the Church of England into closer conformity with the doctrines set prominently forward in the Lambeth Articles. It is well known that he had anxiously laboured to direct the theological zeal of James to the same point, and to con-

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<sup>1</sup> *La Roch.*, vol. i. p. 825; *Harris's Life of James*, vol. i. p. 124.

firm him in and deepen in his mind the Supralapsarian doctrines, in which it is probable either that the King believed, or rather, perhaps, he wished it to be understood, that he maintained them.

The introduction of these articles in the Irish Confession of Faith, though accompanied with some statements not originally in that form of doctrine, and even opposed to some opinions notoriously advocated by James, is ample evidence of Abbot's anxiety upon the subject. And it is a curious fact in connexion with this view of the question, which we have not seen elsewhere stated except in a speech of Mr. Pym, the eloquent foe of monarchy in the reign of Charles I.,—"that the articles agreed on at Lambeth as the doctrine of the Church of England, King James sent to Dort and to Ireland, and were avowed by us and our state<sup>a</sup>." The advantage here taken by Pym of this circumstance shews clearly that the interchange of confessions of faith by different countries and Churches is an injudicious exhibition of fraternal sympathy on points of doctrine. For as a natural and necessary consequence, each Church is considered and registered as agreeing and believing in both creeds; and such a result we find actually occurring during the very period while the Synod of Dort was holding its sittings. Sir Dudley Carleton has recorded the following statement in a communication to the Bishop of Llandaff:—

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<sup>a</sup> Rushworth, vol. i. p. 647.

"The president thinketh that this may easily be effected, that the English may be drawn to give consent to the Belgic confession, and that likewise the Belgic Church to the English confession; and so the other princes to come into such a mutual consent, so that none may depart from the received doctrine without the consent of the rest!"

This decision at Dort naturally suggested to the Presbyterian author of the "History of the House of Stuart" to make this pertinent remark:—"This shews what few of the rural clergy have the least notion of, that the Church of England is the very same with that of Holland, and then we need not scruple to conform to her on account of doctrine".

This leads to a few remarks on the position of the English deputies at the Synod of Dort, and to consider how far or in what way the Church itself is involved in any responsibility in their appointment. There is even authority that they themselves avowed at the Synod that they possessed none. This information is derived from the statements which were regularly transmitted to the King's ambassador at the Hague in the journal of Balcanqual, and will be, perhaps, more easily found in the golden remains of the ever-memorable John Hales. In this journal, in which are reported the results of the 133rd session, to which we shall refer more particularly in the next chapter, Balcanqual states that the British deputies reminded the Synod

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Dudley Carleton's Letters during his Embassy in Holland, p. 840. (4to.)

<sup>2</sup> House of Stuart, p. 48. (Folio.)



that this clause, namely, "the doctrine contained in these canons is to be considered as that of the reformed Churches," must be entirely altered, for they declared that the deputies being ordered by his most supreme Majesty, and not by their Churches, had no authority committed to them by which they were empowered to explain the confessions of their Churches; that they had delivered their own private judgment.

This objection thus clearly conveyed in behalf of the Church of England by the deputies that vindicated her cause, was assailed at the time and argued with ability and learning. Dr. Richard Montague, a man of no mean note, assailed the decision of the Synod, and was summoned for so doing before the House of Commons. He appealed to the King, and, on his death, to Charles I. in his book *Appello Cæsarem*. A reply to this document was published at the time by the Bishop of Chichester. But as the charge affected the whole of the deputies, they all united in a refutation of it. This "Joint Attestation," as this paper is called, was an angry though an able one. It had appended to it the very distinguished names of Bishop Davenant and the Bishop of Chichester, Walter Balcanqual, now Dean of Rochester, Samuel Ward, and Thomas Goad. Among other interesting information in this document, the question seems clearly answered, in what character did the British divines appear at the Synod of Dort\*. For, as naturally flowing out

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\* Marca says,—"*Quæri potest, an ex eo quod suprema canonum protectio ad regem pertinet, sequatur, eum jubere posse ut obser-*

of the statement they made in reply to *Appello Cæsarem*, the writers all through it admitted that the deputies were not sent by the Church. It speaks "of the instructions given by his Majesty," and not by the Church; "the divines sent hither by the King," not by the Church; "the directions of our blessed peace-making King," not the directions of the Church; "according to our custom of weekly transmitting into England brief narratives of our proceedings in each several session to be imparted to his Majesty," and not one mention of the Church.

Besides, it ought to be remembered that all former precedents were departed from in the way the English deputies were introduced at the Synod. The other foreign divines went first to the Hague, and delivered their credentials to the States General of the United Provinces. But the British divines exhibited no credentials, but were simply introduced by the English Ambassador. Brandt records, "That then the said Ambassador made a long speech to the States, in which, among other things, he told them that his Majesty had commissioned and instructed these gentlemen what they were to do, and how to behave themselves at the National Synod." He further reports, "That

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ventur, non expectata etiam sententia Ecclesie. Certum quidem et earum constitutionum observationem fore sanctiorem, si considerentur cum generali cleri consensu." (*Mores de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, lib. vi. cap. 36; *Hooker's Eccles. Polit.*, vol. iii. pp. 350, 351.)

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the clergy of Holland were displeased at this mode of introductions \*."

This is a question upon which the most accurate knowledge should be ascertained, and the most precise rules of proceedings registered, as the only authorities that should regulate such matters. To elucidate our estimate of the value of great rigour in the cession of any authority to any person whatsoever, except by the appointment of the Church herself, to represent or regulate her doctrines or discipline, we shall imagine a case in which the practice we here condemn would be utterly ruinous to the Church and subversive of true religion.

We shall suppose that the monarch of England, as James exercised his authority, had or assumed the power, as Defender of the Faith, to select a few divines to represent the Church, or himself as its earthly head, and to depute them to officiate in that capacity at a foreign synod. We shall suppose that to these divines so selected is conceded the power to recommend the amendments in the liturgy as proposed by Dr. Clarke, or the liturgical offices as *improved* by the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey<sup>†</sup>, or the Book of Common Prayer as used by the congregation of Essex-st., and published by the late Mr. Belsham in 1820. If this foreign synod should receive any of these forms of prayer as that to

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\* Brandt's Hist. of the Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. ii. p. 3.

† See the Apology of Mr. Lindsey on resigning the Vicarage of Catterick, p. 184.

which the doctrines of the Church of England are consentaneous, ought such a reception of them by foreign divines or Churches to impart to our holy and Scriptural services an Arian or Socinian complexion and character? If deputies capable of doing what we suppose might be done, could possibly be found, what then would be the answer of the abettors of the right which James I. claimed and exercised in sending the pure and illustrious Bishop Davenant and his associates to the Synod of Dort? Thus, then, by the admission that King James I. used a power which the Church willingly ceded to him, we at once acknowledge the Popish taunt, that the Church of England is a law Church, presided over by parliamentary bishops. We thus constitute him, not only defender of the faith, as it regards the temporal protection he vouchsafes to grant it, but we constitute him the judge of controversy, the lawgiver uncontrolled of the Church, and the maker of her articles. Such power as this is by many persons not supposed to be vested even in the heads of the Church, or the Church representative, or even the Church diffusive. Of this opinion was the memorable John Hales<sup>a</sup>, of Eton; and a book of great ingenuity was written by Mr. Collins<sup>b</sup> to prove that the pas-

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<sup>a</sup> See his Letter to Archbishop Laud, printed at the end of Bishop Hare's "Difficulties."

<sup>b</sup> See Collins's "Historical and Critical Essay," Introduction, p. 29. The astute author of the "Confessional" insists on the same view, pp. 329, 334.

sage in the 20th Article,—“The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith,” was not to be found in any of the Latin Articles till it was introduced by Laud\*. This is not an occasion to enter on this controversy, but the very existence of it, and the circumstance out of which it arose, which was when Heylin was disputing at Oxford for his Doctor's degree before Prideaux, who was Professor, evidently prove that even within the bosom of the Church there have been, as perhaps now there are, some who deny that there is a power in the Church, in her representative capacity, which nevertheless may be willingly conferred upon a king.

The statements adduced in this chapter ought not to be carelessly perused. For we should be warned by the striking facts it illustrates: and we cannot but recal attention to a few of them. The use that the republican Pym made of the act of King James in simply sending Church formularies to Dort as a case in point, or a justifying apology, for the grand object he had in view, and so successfully struggled to attain, ought not to be forgotten or forgiven by the lovers of the Church of England. He sought to confound the lines and rudiments of ecclesiastical usages and powers, that he might make the avenue to republican institutions more free from human hindrances. Neither ought the commentary to be for-

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\* This is not a correct statement, for Lamb on the Articles proves the contrary. See pp. 34, 35. (4to.)

gotten of the Presbyterian historian, that such an interchange of creeds as he espoused obliterates the peculiarities of faith; nor the intercommunity of the Belgic and English modes of faith, which had this condition appended to it, that none should depart from the received doctrine without the consent of the rest.

: But, perhaps, we need not trouble ourselves with cautions such as these. We can scarcely fear that any monarch in England will ever offend so outrageously against truth and honour, as marked the treacherous and almost profane duplicity of James. For it is a fact that the British deputies received instruction, through Sir Dudley Carleton, to make solemn declaration that they did not appear on the behalf of the Church, or in her name, or in the King's as his representatives, but only as private individuals, when the main purposes for which they were sent to Dort had been accomplished.

The Archbishop of Spalatro must from these circumstances have felt his condition quite altered in England by the changes which passed over the King's mind, and under the influence of which the public tone of thought and action was so perfectly revolutionized. This alteration in his principles and views was very strongly marked by the creed of the Belgic Church having been received in England as in unison with the Articles of our own Church. This appears very striking in the strong remonstrance which De Dominis addressed to Bishop

Hall. Brandt, in his History, quotes the letter of the Archbishop, and adds these remarkable words :—

"These are the words of De Deminis, that miracle of learning, whom this synod furnished, if not with the true cause, at least with a fair pretence of quitting the Protestant religion, and returning to the Popish Church, which he had wisely forsaken."

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<sup>1</sup> See Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. ii. p. 203. (Folio.)

## CHAPTER XII.

THE Archbishop of Spalatro had been originally greatly influenced in deciding to make England his new home by the character which public opinion had induced him to attribute to King James for liberality on the subject of religion; for at one time he had exhibited a conciliatory spirit, more than prudent, towards Rome, and assumed a very mild aspect to her votaries and dependents. Yet these feelings were not deemed inconsistent with a sincere attachment to the Protestant religion. Therefore he had hailed with delight the conversion of the Archbishop to the doctrines of the reformed faith, and was especially gratified by his becoming a member of the Church of England. For these reasons he received with pleasure the dedication to him of his great work, *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*. He announced that he accepted the patronage of it with willingness, and assured De Dominis that a greater favour had not been bestowed by him upon the author than the author had conferred on his Majesty by the dedication\*. It is evident, too, that at this period there was a leaning towards a close

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\* "Marco A. De Dominis Archiepiscopo Spalatensi Jacobus Rex." See *Epistola Eccl. et Theol.*, p. 482, 483. (Folio.)



similarity between the Archbishop and the King on the points that were in controversy in the discussions that were then engaging public attention at the Synod of Dort. Indeed, Bishop Overall has distinctly asserted that such was the case, in a very interesting letter to Grotius. In an interview with his Majesty, the King inquired if he had had any conversation with the Archbishop of Spalatro, who had lately come to England, upon the theological questions that engaged such general attention. The Bishop then repeated to the King the substance of the conversation that had passed between him and the Archbishop, in which he declared that the discussions about predestination were more suited to the private consideration of the learned, and did not seem necessarily to belong to the Catholic faith. With this statement the King agreed, and remarked that it was rash authoritatively to decide on such difficult and abstruse questions, as if persons had been admitted to the Divine counsels in heaven, and then sent to earth to announce them<sup>b</sup>. He

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<sup>b</sup> In writing "*Ordinibus Provinciarum Confederatarum*," he says, "*illæ in vestris provinciis fœdæ dissentiones in causa religionis summo me efficiunt dolore; angor hinc plurimum, quod ex levi causa tantum schisma invaleseat.*" London die 17 Augst. stylo vet. 1617, p. 484. And again, p. 490:—"Aderam forte serenissimo Regi nostro, cum quæreret ex me de Archiepiscopo Spalatensi qui paulo ante ad nos venerat, num quos cum illo de rebus theologicis sermones habuissem? ubi cum respondissem habuisse me aliquos, et in his me quandam ejus sententiam valde probare quam ille de vestris controversiis de predestinatione dum per vos transiret, interrogatus responderat, non illas sibi videri res fidei Catholicæ sed disputationis Theologicæ—

openly declared these opinions in his communications with the States, and the expressions he made use of in the correspondence of the time were repeated with exultation and praise. And again, in thanking the United Provinces for the gift of some silver goblets they bestowed on him in testimony of the value they set upon his lately published work, *De Republicâ*, he zealously repeated his admonition of moderation and peace. And from this we may be assured that as De Dominis became more intimately acquainted with the development of the party that at last worked out its triumph at the Synod of Dort, he must clearly have perceived that the great project he had laboured to achieve received its death-blow. The unravelling of the prevailing opinions of these parties, notwithstanding the restraint which the genius, and learning, and piety of the illustrious Davenant had cast in their course, must have for ever extinguished all hope of any union that he had ever fondly anticipated or hoped for of the reformed faith and the Church of Rome. The communications, indeed, which passed between the Archbishop and the parties engaged at the Synod, at first seemed to indicate attractive terms of peace and friendly intercourse; but these delusive appearances quickly passed away. For another evidence soon manifested itself that must have testified

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de hujusmodi questionibus divinæ prædestinationis tam scrupulosæ homines contendere tamque confidenter asserere quasi cœlis de lapid divinis consiliis interfuerant."—(*J. Overellus, Conv. et Lichtveldensis Hugoni Grotio*, Junii 20, 1617, p. 484.)

still more clearly to De Dominis that any arrangement in which peace or prudence had any part assigned them, was far removed from the contemplation even of the calmer members of the Synod that ruled at Dort. The selection of the offices which the British deputies were to discharge they were now summoned to discuss and adjust. The plan was devised and proposed by Balcanqual, the representative of the Scotch Church. Its success had the propitious omen of having as its conductor the celebrated Duke of Buckingham, eminent, if not for moral excellence, for his success as a courtier and his personal attractions. Balcanqual, in writing to Sir Dudley Carleton, thus reveals the scheme. He stated that he had written a letter to Buckingham in which he had entreated him to persuade the King to permit him to join the college of the British divines, that his Majesty had acceded to the request, and given commands to carry it into execution\*. Balcanqual observes that matters were now

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\* It may not be uninteresting to remark that Hume rather confidently asserts that the Earl of Bristol had never accused the Duke of Buckingham of being a Roman Catholic; yet it is with all precision and order alleged by Bristol that Buckingham plotted with the Jesuit Gondomar to bring the Prince of Wales into Spain for the purpose of changing his religion, and that he absented himself habitually for eight months from the service of the Church of England in the Earl's house, and that he adopted the ceremonies of the Church of Rome; that the Duke prevailed upon King James to write to the Pope for a dispensation to the marriage, that he styled him "Sanctissime Pater," and that the Pope sent to Buckingham a letter to encourage him in the perversion of the Prince. In Hume's History of England, vol. vi., note

satisfactorily adjusted. A department was assigned to each of the deputies, and the subjects arranged, and the duties declared which he was called upon to make himself especially acquainted with and to discharge. To Davenant was allotted the duty of asserting and explaining what they considered the doctrines of the orthodox faith, and the vindication of the contra-Remonstrant party from the objections of the Remonstrants. That so holy, so pure-minded, and so distinguished a champion of the truth as Davenant was in some way ensnared to assume the part here assigned him, and so little assorted to the temperate tone of his theology, seems probable from the duties which the representative of the Scotch Church was invested with and undertook. It ought to be remembered that Balcanqual was the proposer of this plan, that he had promised to dedicate his own talents to the use of the Church of England, and simultaneously he directed and organized the qualifications of each of the British divines. He thus modestly depicts the duties to which he had devoted his own abilities, namely, a solution of all the arguments which the Remonstrants offer to the orthodox faith<sup>4</sup>. It would be an interesting labour, if possible, to unravel all the arrangements of this transaction, beginning with Balcanqual's primary movement, and ending with the closing act of the

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to p. 217; *Memoirs of George Villiers*, p. 35; *Whitlock's Memorials of the British Affairs*, p. 202, and following pages, there is ample evidence on this head.

<sup>4</sup> *Dudley Carleton to G. Balcanqual*, p. 527.

Duke of Buckingham. But the Remonstrant party, of whom the illustrious and meek Davenant was thus made the accuser, the judge, and the executioner, were hunted to condemnation with all the keen energy of opponents who hated them, who had power to trample on and the ignoble courage to revile them. They were banished from the Synod, and expelled without the ordinary form of consultation as to the terms of their expulsion. The humble and holy, yet wise and resolute Hales, reports the apology of the President for so dastardly and rash an act, that it was the act of the political lords, who had commanded that the expulsion should take place without delay\*. Upon this peremptory decree of sudden vengeance in place of quick justice, the commentary of Hales is, "What the apology for this rough and angry sentence was, I know not."

To effect an amelioration of these disputes and troubles, it was proposed to King James by Molineus, the French minister, that some form of an universal confession of faith should be composed by the Synod, and prescribed for the use and adoption of all the reformed Churches. Every thing was done to satisfy and conciliate James. He was treated as the fountain of orthodoxy and learning. A rough draft of this composition was privately to be prepared, according to the direction of his Majesty, by certain members of the Synod. When

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\* *Præstant. ac Erudit. Litteræ, D. Carolono Joannes Halesius*, pp. 529, 530.

it was completed, it was at once to be sent to the King. Whatever he considered prudent to adopt was to be the form of this rule of faith, whether it was to be enlarged, abridged, or otherwise amended. He was then to recommend it publicly to the Synod, and to all the Churches who had sent deputies to it.

At the same time, Molinæus advised that some form of mutual toleration between the Calvinists and Lutherans should be agreed on. However, such reasonable and peaceful expedients were ill-assorted to the impassioned feelings of the ascendant party at Dort<sup>1</sup>. The reason sagaciously assigned by the English Ambassador for not proceeding in such a work of peace is, that the coalition, or union, of the several parties in the Church, was not within the range of their duties. For this was the chief object of their deliberations—the sup-

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<sup>1</sup> "Molinæus commendat formam quandam mutue tolerantie inter Calvinistas et Lutheranos, quæ tamen admodum aliena est a presente negotio, suppressione, inquam, Arminiorum, ideoque, opinor non opportunum fore ejus aliquam facere mentionem in Synodo."—(*Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi D. Carletonus*, p. 529.)

In the *Memorial of the English Affairs in the Reign of King James I.*, by Whitlocke, p. 297, there is a passage that shews that this was the general feeling in England at this time:—"A national Synod was held at Dort, whither King James sent Dr. Carleton, Bishop of Landaffe, Hall, Davenant, and Ward, learned divines, who met there with divers divines from Switzerland and Germany, who altogether quashed, as much as in them lay, the Arminian opinions." This book, as stated in the title-page, was published from the original manuscript by William Penn, Governor of Pennsylvania, 1709.

pression of the Arminians; until this end was attained all others were foreign from their labours.

Such incidents as these were not unusual attendants at the meetings of the Synod. They were, in fact, the life-blood of all its movements, which was continually flowing through all its operations. The ever-memorable John Hales recounts an interesting and exciting event that occurred at a private meeting of the Synod. It is introduced to prepare the reader of the ecclesiastical events of this period for similar encounters, in which the undisciplined tempers of some of its members not rarely indulged, and also to display the noble bearing of Davenant as the representative of the Church of England.

The question under discussion was the oft-debated but never settled one of election. Indeed, to human scrutiny it would seem that the existence of time, and an adjustment in it of an eternal issue as personal election would be, is as impossible as the blending together the present and the future. If it be amenable to the hope that faith inspires, it ought not to be subject to the control of the intellect which reason so often misleads. The subject on this occasion was entertained under this form,—in what way Christ should be considered as the foundation of election. The common opinion of the contra-Remonstrants on the dogma is, that God the Father before all things decreed about the future state of each individual, and that afterwards our blessed Saviour was appointed as the medium of executing the decree. Others, on the contrary,

assert that our Lord is the foundation of election in this sense,—that He is not only to be considered the executioner of it, but the author and procurer. In proof of this, the words of St. Paul, Ephesians i. 4, are alleged, "As He hath chosen us in Him before the foundation of the world." At this question we are told the Synod laboured with anxious toil\*. Gomarus embraced the first opinion, and Martinus the second and opposite one. Scarcely had Martinus uttered the words which explained his views, when Gomarus, with that warmth of expression and restlessness of manner which one is expected to interpret into sincerity and zeal, jumped up and exclaimed, "I take the adjustment of this matter to myself." He paused, and seemed to nurse his wrath to keep it warm. He then threw down his glove *chirothecam projecit*, and challenged Martinus to single combat, and besought the senate to grant it, for his antagonist was incapable of adducing anything to refute the statements that he could bring forward in support of his opinions<sup>b</sup>. But Martinus<sup>c</sup>, who in no way yielded to Gomarus in acquirements and learning, and in his love of peace by many degrees excelled him, endured his

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\* "Synodus in hoc conventu desudavit."—(*J. Hales*, p. 531.)

<sup>b</sup> "Quin Gomarus qui jampridem animo coquebat iram eamque ut mox verebar, erat evomiturus, protinus exsiliit, et ego, inquit, hanc rem in me recipio."—(*D. Carolus Joannes Hales*, p. 532.)

<sup>c</sup> "Martinus qui eruditione Gomaro nequiequam cedit, studioque pacis multis ipsum parasangis, antecellit facile contumeliam concecit."—(*Epist. Eccl. et Theol.*, p. 532.)



reproachful language in silence, and with a calm mind. All present hailed with delight the prospect of a termination to this angry debate. The prudence, as it was hoped, of the President excited this short-lived expectation. He had ordered that the prayers should commence, with which the business of the Synod ended. But they were soon over, and with them ended the temporary calm<sup>2</sup>. For the anger of Gomarus outlived the influence of his prayers. He immediately renewed his challenge to Martinus, and treated him as if he had destined him as the victim of his rage.

It was supposed that Davenant, as the other professors had done, would have explained his opinions at a private session. It was not known at the time, nor has since been revealed, what could have been the real object of the private discussion of great public questions of exceeding interest. These meetings were convoked by the direction of the senate for the decision of important truths, yet silence seems to have been the wisest counsellor among them. However, after many disappointments, Dr. Davenant delivered his judgment. It produced an extraordinary determination: for immediately after he had spoken, the question was moved and carried, that the audience present should withdraw. For though liberty had previously been granted to make observations on the statements delivered, the privilege was withdrawn, lest diversity

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<sup>2</sup> "Quin precibus vix dictis, provocationem suam renovavit."  
—(*Epist. Eccl. et Theol.*, p. 532.)

of opinion might arise after the powerful address of Davenant. All proceedings were to be carried with as great secrecy as possible. Yet strange to tell, though this arrangement was devised for the purpose of imposing silence on some refractory members of the Synod, who were not amenable to the ordinary impulses of prudence, yet many delivered their opinions on that night. It was then determined that the members of the Synod were to send a written statement on each of the five articles. This opinion was not to be as *sententia decisoria*; for it was considered that the five articles were so interwoven in faith and doctrine with each other, and in sense and substance, that it was deemed more prudent to discuss them all in succession, before a final and determinate judgment was pronounced or recorded on any. Balcanqual now, in the absence of Hales, becomes the weekly chronicler of the events of the Synod. He repeats the statement made by his predecessor, that the doctrine professed by Martinus was also held by Dr. Ward, one of the deputies from England at the Synod of Dort. Hales reports the additional information that Dr. Davenant was of the same opinion as Martinus. Of the English deputies, three held one side of this long debated and still unsettled question, and two, with equal tenacity, the other. Each party avowed that they could not with safe conscience embrace their adversaries' doctrine. Balcanqual's expedient for removing the difficulty and the difference was of a piece with his previous successful acts of di-

plomacy which he had adjusted by the aid of the polished skill of the Duke of Buckingham. He proposed that the Ambassador should not press for a hasty decision of the deputies upon the controverted article. In the meantime, that messengers should be despatched to England to ascertain what answer the heads of the Church in that country deemed it expedient to make to the foreign Synod<sup>1</sup>.

In a subsequent communication of Dr. Carleton, Bishop of Llandaff, to the Ambassador, he confirms the statement that Davenant and Ward differed from the other deputies, and explains the reasons of their disagreement. The Bishop alleges that the opinions set forth as those of the Church were neither the doctrines of the Scriptures nor of the Church of England. A proposal was then made that the matter should be submitted to the decision of the Archbishop of Canterbury. But the Bishop of Llandaff considered that this was an unnecessary trouble to impose on the Primate, and that it

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<sup>1</sup> I think it is right to quote this passage at length:—  
 “Quæstio inter nos est, utrum verba scripturæ, quæ et ipse sunt verba confessionis nostræ, *Christus oblatus est aut mortuus pro toto humano genere seu pro peccatis totius mundi* intelligenda sint de quibusvis et singulis hominibus an solum de electis qui ex omnium hominum genere existunt. D. Davenantius et D. Wardus sunt ejusdem cum Martino Bremense sententiæ, ea de cunctis et singulis hominibus intelligenda esse; tres cæteri amplectebantur alteram expositionem quæ est scriptorum in Ecclesiis Reformatis. Utraque pars se genuinum ac verum tueri sensum judicat, quapropter altera alteri salva conscientia cedere non potest.” — (*Dudleio Carletono Gualtero Balcanquallus*, p. 540.)

should be adjusted among themselves. The calm and resolute condemnation of this proposition by Dr. Davenant brought matters to a fixed point, and fastened them there. He said he would rather cut off his right hand than change anything.

This decisive declaration compelled the Bishop to avow that the appeal to the Archbishop was now absolutely necessary and impossible to avoid, for he was convinced that the Synod would never sanction the doctrine of the universal grace of the remission of sins.

The representations of the disputes that occurred in the meetings of the Synod at this time are little calculated to conciliate a favourable reception of their deliberations. We have already made some statements of this nature respecting the attack of Gomarus on Martinus. There is another memorable essay of the same kind reported by Balcanqual. But on this occasion the deputy of the Church of Scotland creditably upholds Martinus, the calm victim of the impassioned Gomarus. He states that Martinus is a very learned man, and equally orthodox as any other member of the Synod on all the five articles, except that one which was the subject of dispute with his fiery antagonist, and that this will be manifested when the canons of the Synod are finally drawn up, for he will have many approvers of his opinions. His meek and Christian temperament is frequently brought into strange contrast with the very opposite qualities. For instance, Soultetus, in a well-digested speech which he had

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carefully prepared and written out, grossly<sup>m</sup> offended the ears of all the foreign deputies, and displayed his mind in language worthy of all condemnation. For the passages in his speech that were most pregnant with bitter violence, he, with the greatest care, committed accurately to memory, for he repeated them twice over! What a contrast to his adversary's patience and temper! He is described as replying with the greatest modesty<sup>n</sup>.

Immediately follows a description of Gomarus. A witness of the scene thus represents him:—

"He delivered a speech which I do not think could have been spoken by any sane man."

And after the termination of his speech, his manner and appearance is thus portrayed:—

"These and suchlike expressions he used, his eyes being enflamed, and his voice and demeanour so supercilious and overbearing, that one wonders that the President did not suddenly interrupt his harangue and call him to order. But, indeed, he unexpectedly came to an abrupt termination, as, I think, through a failure of breath, *spiritus defectu*."

But far different, indeed, was the interpretation

<sup>m</sup> "Sculptetus præmeditata oratione, quam etiam in scriptis habebat, respondit, adeo virulenta, ut meas juxta ac omnium, ut opinor, exteriorum aures vehementissime offenderet, viroque tanti nominis indigna videretur." Again:—"Sententias quæ maximè acerbæ erant, bis repetierit."—(*G. Balcanqual*, p. 547.)

<sup>n</sup> "Postquam ille sermoni finem imposuit Martinus summa cum modestia respondit."—(*Balcanqualli*, *Epist.*, p. 547.)

\* "Sponte tandem abruptis spiritûs ut opinor, defecta."—(*Ibid.*, *Ep.*, p. 548.)

of the conduct and manner of Gomarus, as viewed by the President". He returned "his most grateful thanks to the very distinguished Dr. Gomarus for his learned, grave, and highly-finished speech." The Bishop of Llandaff calmly remonstrated against the conduct of the President, and his patronization of the speaker. Indeed, the impression which the whole scene left upon the mind of the audience was what the narrator of these events declared, that the President and Gomarus had leagued together to uphold, under any opposition and reproof, the opinions and the part that Gomarus had so violently endeavoured to sustain.

On another occasion Gomarus boldly attacked the doctrine of the Church of England. He so arranged his statement of the argument he proposed to discuss, that he omitted a part of the 17th Article. On the part so omitted he constructed his theory, which was at once refuted when it was supplied. This occurred in his examination of the question, Whether fallen man is the subject of predestination? which is the second of the five articles in dispute between the Arminians and Calvinists. This article seemed to be the chief difficulty in all these discussions, for it ran like a poisoning thread through all their deliberations.

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\* "Præses autem celeberrimo Doctori Gomaro summas pro erudita, gravi comptaue oratione gratias egit . . . Justam id cuilibet ansem suspicandi præbuit, Præsidem in eodem negotio cum Gomaro, conspirare."—(*Dudleio Carletono G. Balcanquellus*, p. 548.)

Balcanqual prays that God may deliver them from the second article, *De redemptione universali*. On every other point in the controversy he thought they would agree. But some of the deputies from North and South Holland, whom, as being devoted to the views of the President, he favoured above all the rest, proposed for adoption certain articles which no theologian, as the narrator of the circumstance repeats, ever dreamed of. To these propositions Balcanqual repeated the same sentiment as Davenant, and in the same words. The blind zeal, he adds, that not unfrequently actuates religious enthusiasts so far prevailed, that they considered that whatever Gomarus, and those who acted with him, declared as divine truth, should be considered as a text of sacred Scripture. But the energetic declaration of Davenant haunted the minds, or rather the conscience, of the English deputies, and seemed to be not only similar in intensity of feeling, but even in the language that expressed it the same. As the earthly reward of his holy and courageous devotedness, an address was presented by the *Theologi Britanni* who attended the Synod of Dort, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and signed by all of them, which is described, or rather characterized, by the historian, as "*rationes extendendi gratiam ultra electionem.*" In this document it was stated that any decision which the Synod should make would be governed by the Confessions of the Church of England, and so prepared and arranged as to be

adapted, with as little offence as possible, to the creeds of the Lutheran Churches<sup>1</sup>.

This document was signed by the five deputies from the Church of England and of Scotland, namely, Georgius Landavensis, Johannes Davenantius, Samuel Wardus, Thomas Goadus, Gualterus Balcanquallus, and asserted the calm and Scriptural doctrine of the Church of England.

Dr. Davenant was the author of the *Judicium de Articulo Secundo in Collatione Hagiensi de Extensione Redemptionis*<sup>2</sup>. In this most important paper are the *rationes* to which the English deputies affixed their signatures. The fourth contains the following:—

“There is no Confession of any reformed Church extant which limits the death of Christ to the elect alone. But we have it in command from the King, that we should not depart from the Confessions of the English Church, nor from those of our continental neighbours.”

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<sup>1</sup> “In hoc et aliis articulis quoties concedimus et interpretamur fructus quosdam mortis Christi non contentos in decreto electionis sed generalius oblatos, restrictos tamen ad visibilem Ecclesiam cujusmodi sunt vera quosdam et spiritualia dona gratiæ divini prædicationem evangelii comitantia et collata in quosdam non electos.”—(*Theologi Britannici Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Præst. ac Erudi., Epist. Eccl.*, p. 561.)

<sup>2</sup> “Nulla deinde Confessio extat ullius Ecclesiæ Reformatæ quæ Christi mortem restringat ad solos electos. Atqui in mandatis habemus a Rege ut Belgas moneamus ne a publicis confessionibus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et vicinarum Reformatarum recedant.” See *Doctoris Davenantii Judicium de Articulo Secundo Discussio in Collatione Hagiensi de Extensione Redemptionis, Epist. Eccl.*, p. 562.



And in the eleventh rule, the same clear and holy manifestation of divine truth is thus declared :—

“We have a special command, that we should give our assistance that the positions we adopt should be drawn up with moderation, and be so framed as to mitigate excitement in the two contending parties, which we consider eminently necessary in all discussions on the second article.”

The concluding part of these descriptions of the proceedings of the most remarkable persons at the Synod of Dort is not only instructive, but very amusing. The object of bringing them under observation is to present a faithful picture of the religious parties of the time, that the reader may have a fair representation before him of the difficulties and dangers that beset the Archbishop of Spalatro in the investigation that attended his extraordinary progress. The meetings of the Synod, the various characters whose history must be examined in such an investigation, induces one not to omit a brief account of the concluding incidents which terminated them.

The concluding portion of the history of the Synod more distinctly marks than any reader of the previous events could have anticipated, the

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The following extract from Dr. Plume's *Life of Bishop Hacket* is worthy of record :—“Bishop Usaher would say, Davenant understood these controversies better than ever any man did since St. Austin. But he used to say he was sure he had three excellent men of his mind in this controversy, Padre Paulo, Thomas Aquinas, and St. Austin.”—(*Allport's Life of Davenant*, p. xlv.)

tone and temper of mind of the foremost members of it. Balcanqual, on perceiving the present aspect of affairs, summons the Bishop of Llandaff and the other deputies from the Church of England. His object was, that they all should consult on the present state of affairs. He informs the Bishop,—

“I can freely speak of our present condition to you,—that the President arrogates more to himself than any president ever did: he wishes, in the arrangement of the canons, which he desires to be approved by the rest, that it should be intimated by a simple declaration of approval, or the contrary, without any reasons whatever being assigned. He has so many of the provincial deputies to the Synod his devoted servants, that he determines all things by his own will. I am compelled to confess that I cannot see in what way he can consult the dignity of any deputy, because he little agrees with any member of the senate, and least of all with the Bishop. Indeed, the President alone dictates the rule to be adopted: the others follow him. He alone concocts and prescribes the canons: *the Synod, indeed, is summoned not to deliberate, not to consult, and then to decree, but to acknowledge and register his decisions.*

“It would seem to me that there would have been less difference of opinion at the Synod if two of its members had not been present, Sibrandus and Gomarus. These men had alternate turns or revolutions of rage, and displayed a boisterous temper. Yesterday a storm burst forth on the part of Gomarus. To-day Sibrandus inveighed against the English divines in such loud angry rage, and yet with such a violent fury  
ness of language, that no greater puniah  
revenge, could be taken upon the delinq

compel them to listen to a single repetition of their own language. But so far as Sibrandus and Gomarus are concerned, I can no more pass censure upon them than blame a stone for falling downwards from a height. For they are thus formed by nature."

He concludes this communication to Sir Dudley Carleton, the Ambassador, by saying,—

"Unless you, illustrious Sir, with great diligence can offer us some wise counsel, this Synod will be subject to the derision of all ages."

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<sup>1</sup> *Dudleio Carletono Magnæ Britan. Regis Legato Gualterus Balcanquallus*, p. 565.

### CHAPTER XIII.

**W**E shall now proceed to examine the occurrences which took place after the Archbishop had resolved to return to Rome. Many of these circumstances we have found in a work published by the direction of James I. So anxious was the King for his own exculpation in this business, that a copy of this book was despatched to Sir H. Wotton, the ambassador at Venice, that he might inform the State of everything connected with it. From this publication it evidently appears that James anticipated and feared that imputations might rest on him of having given encouragement to De Dominis to hope that a reconciliation might be effected between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. On the 12th of January, 1621, which was the last time that his Majesty had seen the Archbishop, he had determined to allude to the reports that had reached him. But on consideration he deemed it better to wait till De Dominis should communicate his intention of leaving England\*. Accordingly, on the 16th of the same month he wrote the following letter:—

“To the most High and Mighty Prince James, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, Defender of the

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\* *Condemi Apparatus*, p. 78.

Faith, M. Anthony De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, wisheth all happiness.

"The two Popes which were most displeased at my leaving of Italy and coming into England, Paulus Quintus, and he which now liveth, Gregory XI., have both labored to call me back from hence and used diverse messages for that purpose, to which notwithstanding I gave no heed. But now of late, when this same Pope (being certified of my zeal in advancing and furthering the union of all Christian Churches) did hereupon take new care and endeavour to invite me again unto him, and signified withal that he did seek nothing therein but God's glory, and to use my poor help to work the inward peace and tranquillity of your Majesty's kingdome, mine own conscience told me that it behoved me to give ready ear unto his Holinesse. Beside all this, the diseases and inconveniences of old age growing upon me, and the sharpness of the cold air of this countrey, and the great want I feele amongst strangers of some friends and kinsfolkes, which might take more diligent and exact care of me, make my longer stay in this climate very offensive to my body. Having therefore made an end of my workes, and enjoyed your Majesty's goodness in bestowing me all things needful and fitte for me, I can doe no lesse than promise perpetual memory and thankfulness, and tender to you my continuance in your Majestie's service, wheresoever I goe; and will become in all places a reporter and extoller of your Majestie's praises. Now if my businesse proceed and be brought to a good end, I will hope to obtaine your Majestie's good leave to depart, without the least diminution of your Majestie's wonted favor towards me. I heare of your Majestie's late great danger, and congratulate with your Majestie for your singular deliverance from it, by God's great goodnesse, who hath preserved you safe from

it, as one most dear unto Him, for the great good of His Church I hope.

"Farewell, the glory and honor of princes. Your Majesty's ever most devoted servant,

"ANT. DE DOMINIS,

"*Archbishop of Spalatro.*"

"*From the Savoy, Jan. 16, 1621, O.S.*

On the receipt of this letter the King sent for the Bishops of London and Durham, and the Dean of Winchester. He communicated to them its contents, and desired them to wait upon the Archbishop, to expostulate with him, and require satisfaction from him in several particulars. Accordingly they visited him on the 21st of January, and having explained the object of their visit, enquired in his Majesty's name why he should hold intelligence with the Popes, Paulus Quintus and Gregorius Decimus Quintus, and never communicate to his Majesty anything connected with such a correspondence, while he had freely imparted to the King all the letters he had received from Paul Sarpi, Fulgentio, and his other friends in Italy. The Archbishop assured them that he had not had any letter or message immediately from either of the Popes, but only intimations of their disposition for his return, which had been communicated by his friends. But when he was asked what had become of those letters, he asserted that he had burned them. He was then requested to explain how his intercession with the Pope could contribute to the peace of his Majesty's kingdom. And then

he made the statement that he would induce his Holiness to allow the Roman Catholics to take the oath of allegiance. He was then reminded that Preston, Groene, and other Romish priests had been prosecuted by the court of Rome for permitting that oath to be taken, though they continued members of the Church of Rome. The mere act of taking the oath would surely not be sufficient to settle the peace of the kingdom, because the Roman Catholics considered the Protestants as heretics, and therefore, whenever they had power, they persecuted the members of the reformed faith, as they had formerly done in England, and continued to do at present in France. And therefore so long as they continue to act in the same way, there can be no hope that they ever could be induced to come to our churches, to join in our prayers, preaching, and the receiving of our sacraments. And in addition to these statements, his Majesty's agents asserted that there could be no expectation that the Pope and the Church of Rome would renounce this practice.

To these statements the Archbishop calmly replied, "That there were twelve hours in the day, and that he would leave the good success of the matter unto God."

He was then required to explain what hopes he entertained of the present Pope being more inclined to peace and union than former popes. He answered that he expected that something might be remitted on both sides; that the Pope might be

brought to yield in some things; that in fundamental things both religions did agree, and that there might be a toleration of both, for the Church of Rome was acknowledged by Protestants to be a true Church. It was then remarked by one of the bishops, that the Church of Rome was a Church, but a sick one. The Archbishop then asked, why we did forsake our Mother, being sick. To which it was replied, that we had not forsaken the Church, our old Mother, but the Papacy, and the corruptions and superstitions brought in of late into the Church. He observed that we had made a schism and set up a new altar against the old one. To this the bishops rejoined, that our altar was an old altar, conformable to that of the primitive Church, and that all innovations were from amongst them, and that herein they were content to be judged concerning those offices which we execute at the altar, by the writings of the Fathers, the first general Councils and ancient liturgies, unto which we did constantly adhere. He said that the King, as appears by his writing, was willing to acknowledge the Pope for the Patriarch of the West. The bishops answered, that his Majesty had written to that purpose in his Monitory Preface, but that there his Majesty, as it appears by consulting the place, only speaks of the priority of order, not of power and jurisdiction.

The Archbishop was then requested to state whether the King had ever, by word or writing, given him the least encouragement to hope that



a reconciliation of both religions might be effected, much less to obtain a toleration for the Roman Catholic, and if he now entered into communication with his Holiness, founded on any such representation from the King; and whether he had himself in any way said anything of this kind to his Majesty. The Archbishop is stated to have asseverated, in the most solemn manner, that neither the King to him, nor he to the King, had ever spoken or written one word to any such purpose.

He was then asked, How he could receive the Sacrament in the Church of England, and at the same time entertain the design of returning to the communion of the Church of Rome? He replied, that he thought that both were members of the same Church, under one Head, Christ, and that they did agree in fundamental points; that he, for his part, would retain the gold and silver of the foundation, and reject the hay and stubble which both sides built on the same. Being asked, What hay or stubble the Church of England had built upon the foundation? and that it was evident the Church of Rome had done so,—he said that in his opinion there was in both something laudable, something tolerable, and something intolerable. Among the intolerable, he instanced that the Church of England absolutely denied the exercise of free-will in the first conversion <sup>b</sup>, as well as the puritanical conceits and schis-

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<sup>b</sup> Διὰ τοῦτο εἶπον ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐδεὶς δύναται ἰλθεῖν πρὸς με, ἢ μὴ ᾗ δεδομένος αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου.—St. John vi. 65.

matical opinions of many of the ministers of the Church. He was then called on to explain how he could communicate in the Church of Rome, which held the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and at the same time with the Church of England, which maintained the precisely opposite opinion. He answered, he could communicate with both. And when the Bishop of Durham reminded him that he had heard him say that he never did nor would believe Transubstantiation, he acknowledged that he had so expressed himself, and that his opinion was now unaltered, but that he considered this an error only in philosophy. Being asked how he, who seemed to be under such apprehension for his safety, even while in England (as now of late, when the French Ambassador, Monsieur Cadenet came over, that he begged leave of the King to be permitted to remain at home), could be secure from danger if he went to reside among Jesuits, especially after he had wounded the Church of Rome by his writings and conduct, and also extolled the Church of England, except upon the supposition that he contemplated a Palinodia, which, as the Bishop said, he hoped would never occur,—in answer to this statement, he is described as taking off his hat and saying,—

“Before God and Jesus Christ, I will always acknowledge from my heart, and profess openly, that the Church of England is a true and orthodox Church of Christ; and if I ever say or think otherwise of it, let all men report me to be a very knave; yea, I will deal freely with the

Pope, though I do it with the hazard of my life, and commit the success to God \*."

Thus terminated this extraordinary interview. At parting he was requested, for the King's satisfaction, to write in his own hand a short account of what had now occurred between him and the persons whom his Majesty had sent to him. To this he consented, and the document which he transmitted to the King is of the same date as that on which the meeting took place, namely, the 21st of January. It contains nothing materially different from what we have detailed of the conversation between the Archbishop and the Bishops of London and Durham and the Dean of Winchester, except in two points, on which he enlarges more than in the report which we have given of the interview. In his letter to the King, he says:—

"I was invited again of late in like manner, by letters from my friends and kinsfolk, who signified to me that my zeal and defence which I undertook for the Church of Rome, in fundamental points of faith, were very acceptable to the Pope, and that he would use my advice in framing such a moderation of all matters of religion whereby there might follow an universal union."

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\* "Protestatio coram Deo et Christo ex animo, agnosciturum et palam professurum Ecclesiam Anglicanum esse veram et orthodoxam Christi Ecclesiam. Si aliter unquam sensero aut dixero, permittam ut omnes me summum nebulonem esse predicant. Libereque me cum Pontifice acturum profiteor etiam si hoc fiat cum discrimine vitæ meæ."—(*Protestatio Arch. Spalatensis. in Colloq. cum Episcopis Lond. Dunelm. et Decan. Winton. 30 March, 1622.*)

In another part of this epistle he says:—

“That the Pope did much affect the inward peace and tranquillity of this kingdom, unto which peace my advice might prove serviceable, if the differences about religion might be compounded, from which the peace of the commonwealth useth ever to be disturbed. I only wish the Pope may in many things lessen his wonted rigor, from thence there might proceed union and concord of religion in the Church, and utter abolishment of schism.”

This document, though written in his own hand, had not his signature attached to it. The Dean of Winchester was sent to him to endeavour to obtain it, so scrupulous, it was said, was the King to be possessed of the most accurate evidence to justify his own conduct, if ever he should be arraigned as having given encouragement to the Archbishop to hope for a reconciliation of the Churches of England and Rome.

In the interview which the Dean had with him on this occasion, he opened his mind on some subjects which had not been discussed before. The Dean asked him, How could the toleration of two religions stand with the internal peace of this or any other kingdom? He answered, that although some such words had slipped from him the day before, yet indeed his earnest desire and hope was, that by a *mutual yielding on both sides, both religions might be made one*, as he, in fundamental points, did verily believe them to be. With respect to Purgatory, he said it was indeed a foolish fancy, and confessed that they of the Church of Rome had added many

things, which it were far better were removed than retained, and he hoped that, for the peace of Christians, they would yield and remit somewhat. But, he added, that we must not be too rigid in condemning of those things which might have a good or tolerable construction. The Dean remarked, that though some peaceable men might take the same view he did, how could he expect that the Jesuits could ever be brought to adopt his views? He said that if the Pope were inclinable to yield some things for the public peace, both Jesuits and others would soon be brought to coincide in the plan.

The Dean then enquired whether his friends in Italy knew of his intention to return to Rome, and what they thought of it? The Archbishop then told him he had received no letters from them for three months. He then added, that there was a great preferment waiting for him, of the value of twelve thousand crowns<sup>d</sup>, that is, about three thousand pounds sterling a-year; yet he conceived they would not be forward to advise him to return. The Dean said, "My Lord, as one that loveth and honoureth you, let me persuade you to be very well advised before you leave this country—for out of hell, as Petrarch in one of his epistles calls Rome, there is no redemption." "I have resolved," said

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<sup>d</sup> "Annum illius census esse duodecim millia coronatorum."  
—(*Crakenthorp, Defensio Ecclesie Anglicanae contra Arakipios. Spalatens.*, p. 33.)

the Archbishop, "with myself, to follow God's appointment; and, therefore, so soon as I receive the Pope's breve, I will set forward on my journey."

He then affixed his signature to the document, and the Dean took his departure.

## CHAPTER XIV.

**I**MMEDIATELY after this meeting, Dr. Morton, Bishop of Durham, went to Newmarket, where the King was, and laid before him the documents to which we have drawn the reader's attention. His Majesty was so displeased and disappointed with the conduct of the Archbishop, that he declined giving any opinion at that time upon the subject. The Bishop informed him that in the interview which the Dean of Winchester had with the Archbishop, he had signified his intention to go to Newmarket to wait upon the King. Immediately he commanded the Bishop to write to the Dean, and tell him to take occasion to visit the Archbishop, and dissuade him at once from coming, for he was determined never to see him again.

This arrangement necessarily led to another interview, which took place on the 31st of January. At this meeting the Dean told him, that since he had last seen him, he had read over the Archbishop's little treatise, entitled *Scogli del Christiano Naufragio*<sup>a</sup>, and he found that in it he applied the

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<sup>a</sup> " *Scogli del Christiano Naufragio*: The Rocks of Christian shipwrecks discovered by the holy Church of Christ to her beloved children, that they may keep aloof from them. Written in Italian, by the Most Reverend Father Marc. Ant. De Dominis, Archb. of Spalatro, and thereout translated into English. London, printed by John Bill, 1618."

An enumeration of the contents of this book may be useful.

harsh terms to the Pope and the doctrines of the Church of Rome, calling him an usurper and anti-christ, and upbraiding him for perverting the truth with many errors, particularly on one occasion. In speaking of the invocation of the saints and the adoration of images, he said that all who do such things are plain idolaters. He answered, that he verily thought that in point of practice the vulgar and meaner sort of people amongst them were formal idolaters; but that their doctrine might admit of better qualification, and that when he was amongst them he did ever instruct his own people otherwise; and so, to his knowledge, others did also. But when the Dean reminded him that they all attributed as much, if not more, reverence to the Virgin Mary than to Christ Himself, he confessed that both priest and people were blameworthy on this point. But the greatest rock of offence was the usurpation of power by the Pope, which he insisted might be abated. The Dean then took his leave.

The King's next movement was to command eleven interrogatories, founded on the different conversations which the Archbishop had with the prelates whom his Majesty had sent to him, to be drawn up, in order that everything connected

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"The first part hath these rockes:—1. The Papacie; 2. Temporal Power; 3. Infolded Faith; 4. Excommunication; 5. The Commandments of the Church; 6. False Union. The second part hath these rockes:—1. The Mass; 2. Auricular Confession; 3. Purgatory, together with Satisfaction and Indulgences; 4. Invocation of Saints; 5. Images and Reliques; 6. Merits."



with this business might be elicited from him and recorded accordingly. While these were being prepared, the Archbishop again asked the King for leave to depart. In consequence of the last paragraph of this letter, which is here subjoined, his Majesty ordered a twelfth interrogatory to be added. The letter is as follows :—

“Most Excellent Prince and gracious Lord,—As I signified lately unto your Majestie in my former letters, I neither ought nor could neglect the Pope’s faire and gracious invitation of me, especially when I saw that he dealt with mee concerning the service of Christ and His Church. And being now at length better certified that all things are in a readinesse for mee, I am tyed to my former promises ; yet I make it my humble request, that I may take my journey with your Majestie’s goodwill. And for that purpose, I doe now most humbly and earnestly crave your leave by these letters, which I would much more willingly have begged by word of mouth in your presence, that I might have parted with your Majestie with all due thanks and submission, but that my access to your Majestie might have confirmed the vaine and foolish rumours of the people. I beseeche your Majestie, therefore, to vouchsafe to give me some letters, whereby my departure may bee made both safe and creditable. As to the ecclesiastical titles and revenues, which I hold of your Majestie’s gifts, I shall resign them by public indentures. So from the bottom of my heart I doe commit myselfe to your royal favour, and vow myselfe your servant for ever. London, from the Savoy, February 3, 1621. Your Majestie’s most obedient alwayes in all things,

“M. ANT. DE DOMINIS,

“*Archbishop of Spalatro.*”

Some of the interrogatories which were now furnished to the Archbishop for answers contain nothing to which reference had not been made before. We shall therefore refer only to those which introduce new matter for consideration.

In Spalatro's answer to the first we are evidently given to understand how far the Church of Rome was unwilling then, and, we may add, ever will be, to submit to any reunion of the Churches. The Archbishop says:—

“Concerning reformation I said, and so think, that no ecclesiastical reformation ought to be made in schism. And because the first reformation begun by Luther and Calvin was made by schism, and therefore such reformation is no ways to be allowed, commended, or received, but that the schism is first to be removed, and the union to be re-established, and there may be admitted lawful preamble and orderly proceedings about reformation.

“In the second point which concerneth the Church of England, before my coming hither I conceived a good opinion of it generally, and in the gross as having heard of the moderation which she kept in her reformation by retaining the unity of the fundamental faith in such manner as I have declared in my answer before. But as for disputable opinions and controversies, I could not resolve and determine with myself what it held right or wrong, until I obtained conference with some of the learned men of this kingdom. If the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury will shew some of my writings which I sent him from Venice, any man may therein see my opinion at large. I know that in those writings I did give him notice that I would first be instructed touching such dogmatical points before I would settle my opinion on them;

that is, that I would be informed and convinced theologically about them. And so it came to pass, that touching some of these I did fully assent and adhere unto this Church as not dissenting from the Catholic Church. But touching some others I did dissent, yet rather from some private men and teachers of the Church of England than from the Church of England itself. As, namely, about free-will, and the efficacy of grace, and predestination, and justification, and necessity of works, and merits, and suchlike. Yet I profess that in these points I never dissented from the articles of the Church of England, because I hold them all, understood in a right sense, to be true, or at least profitable, and none of them heretical."

In answer to the third interrogatory, he gives an interesting account of his escape from Venice, by which he vindicates himself from the charge of being a spy of the Pope:—

"Paulus Quintus, the Pope, neither dispensed with my coming hither, nor was privy to it, nor used any connivance at it, but was exceedingly displeased with it: witness Cologne, and the Spanish forts lying along the Rhine, to all which he sent mandates from Rome to forelay my passage, and to intercept my person, and to imprison me. Sir David Murray and Sir Thomas Barnes, men well known at court, can witness with what terrors I was then troubled, and almost astonished, inasmuch as though I was then sick and like to die, yet I was glad to hide myself in a secret corner of the ship, and to lie there in straw miserably day and night, concealing myself, lest any man should descry me in those suspected places, and betray me to the papists."

It was in reference to his sufferings from cold

and watching on this occasion, when he was burnt in effigy immediately after leaving Italy, that he humorously observed, "He was never colder in his life than on the day when he was burnt at Rome."

In answer to the sixth interrogatory he gives further information of the extent of the concession he would make to the Church of England to effect her reunion with that of Rome:—

"I could wish and desire, if I were able to advise the Pope, that for the taking away of so great a schism he would condescend, as one strong to the weak, and yield something about his papacy, as, namely, that he would yield up that power he assumes to himself over princes, and would leave to them their civil obedience entire, and without any reservation; that he would approve the English Liturgy; that he would grant them the use of the Cup; that he would suffer the controverted points of faith to be handled by the way of councils, after the ancient use of the Church; that in those points of the Council of Trent wherein the Protestants have made good explications of their opinions, he would release his anathematism of them; that he would give ear to some reformation; that he would agree with Christian kings about annates and tenths of benefices; that he would grant indulgence of lawful marriage to clerks, where there is already use of such marriage."

As the eleventh interrogatory refers to the King not having given any encouragement to the Archbishop, we shall set it down in full, as well as the information upon which it was grounded, and also part of the Archbishop's reply:—

*“Interrogatory XI.* Since his Majesty was long ago advertized by Gabalio, Lord Ambassador with his Majesty for the Duke of Savoy, that the Archbishop of Spalatro had undertaken to reconcile his Majesty unto the Pope's favour and the Church of Rome, and that it was divulged abroad that he intended shortly to go to Rome for that purpose, and seeing that his Majesty had likewise received two letters lately out of the Low Countries to the like effect, namely, that the Archbishop had undertaken that business; the occasion of which rumours his Majesty had once a purpose to have inquired of the Archbishop upon the twelfth day last, which was the last time his Majesty saw him, but that his Majesty was hindered, yet not so much by straitness of time as by his over-good conceit of the Archbishop's honesty and integrity, which prevailed so far with his Majesty, that it made him to repute all these rumours as mere tales, and to remain confident, that if any man should have enterprised any such design with the Archbishop, he would never have concealed it from his Majesty, but would have acquainted him first with it: therefore his Majesty commandeth that his Lordship would tell truly and freely whatsoever he hath done, or promised, or undertaken, whereby occasion was given of these rumours. And, if he ever did undertake any such thing, what reason he had either to promise or undertake any such matter?”

The letter of Gabalio, the Ambassador from the Duke of Savoy, which is alluded to in the foregoing interrogatory, was to this effect:—

“It is here underhand reported that the Archbishop of Spalatro is to go to Rome, and the post now from Rome cleareth that doubt by open report, that the Ambassador of Spain has procured him a safe conduct, pretending his employment concerning the conversion of the King of

Great Britain, and the reconciling of that great kingdom. I was willing to sound his friends on this business, whom I found very confident in it, and they spake it very openly, and say, moreover, that the King sendeth him. But I know not what to think of it. I fear a trick. I conceive some danger. I well remember how the French King employed an abbot of Bosto, and in fifteen days he was hanged at Rome. Either an halter, or fire, or poison will be the end. Now God save the man. He verily writeth, that he doth all by expresse consent of the King. If it be true, it is a great calamity; if it be false, it is a great villany."

The extract of the other communication was as follows:—

"There is also a bull made to the Archbishop of Spalatro, which declareth that the going of the said Archbishop into England was by order of the see apostolic, for to procure the conversion of that King, intimating withal how the said King would send the said Archbishop ambassador to Rome for to recant in the King's name, and to take the oath of obedience."

In replying to this the Archbishop denied that he ever gave foundation for these reports. One passage only is worth transcribing:—

"I make no doubt but that his Majesty himself hath given some occasion to these rumours, whilst of his princely clemency he hath tempered the rigour of the laws made against papists in the execution of them. For out of that indulgence and hope of the marriage (of Charles I. with the Infanta of Spain), the papists do publicly promise to themselves liberty of religion."

The reply of the Archbishop to the twelfth interrogatory is truly striking:—

"There came into this kingdom, in my time, a Jesuit from Milan, that he might attempt the conversion of his Majesty and this kingdom. Was there ever any inquisition made against him? No. He was peaceably dismissed by his Majesty out of the kingdom, and with bounty."

The Archbishop now enclosed the answers to the interrogatories to the Bishop of Durham, and requested him to despatch them with all haste to the King. He also sent three letters from his friends at Venice and Rome, which contain nothing worthy of transcribing, except the ominous advice that they tendered to him, not to trust himself in the power of the Pope. This passage had some significance:—

"The assignment of the Church, whereof you are informed, and the value of it, is most true, and there is no cause to doubt of it, and therefore you may *set forward on your journey when you please*. Hence we learn the cause of the Archbishop's delaying so long before he resolved on returning to Rome."

The King was not even yet satisfied. He ordered another series of interrogatories to be submitted to the Archbishop, founded on the contradictions apparent between his late doctrines and those contained in his published works, particularly the "*Manifestation of the Motives*," from which we have already quoted so fully. On the 18th of February the Archbishop sent the replies to these queries. In one of them he alluded to controversial conversations which he had held with Dr. Goad. The King then despatched him to the Archbishop to dis-

cuss the question of schism. On the 19th of February Dr. Goad sent to his Majesty the result of this interview. De Dominis informed Dr. Goad "that this schism was not understood by me plainly until within these few months, after many discussions about it."

This meeting afforded no new facts, for the Archbishop had become very wary lest any observations he might now make might be submitted to the Pope, and endanger his future prospects or perhaps his life. Once more, and for the last time, the Dean of Winchester was commanded again to address him on the subject of schism. He gave this Jesuitical answer:—"That the fault of it was to be laid on that side which is the occasion to hinder the union of both Churches in fundamental faith and charity."

The Archbishop was now summoned to appear before his Majesty's Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical on the 20th of March, 1622. The Commissioners were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, Henry Viscount Mandevil, Lord President of the King's Privy Council, the Bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester, George Calvert, the principal Secretary of State, Julius Cæsar, one of his Majesty's Privy Council, Henry Hulbert, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Randolph Crew, Serjeant-at-law, and William Bird and Henry Martin, Doctors of Law; the public notaries present were William Baker and Thomas Masterhead.



The Archbishop of Canterbury then addressed the Archbishop of Spalatro, and recapitulated all the circumstances we have already detailed, and directed attention particularly to the contradiction between the opinions avowed by the Archbishop at his first coming to England and those which he now advocated. Then the Bishop of Durham proceeded to bring before the notice of the Commissioners the following circumstances. He produced a letter which Do Dominis had written to the Patriarch of Alexandria, when he had sent to him the first volume of his work *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*. It is too important to be curtailed :—

“ To the Most Holy Father and beloved of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to the Lord Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, Œcumenical Judge, the lowest of God’s servants, M. Ant. De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, otherwise of Salona.

“ Most reverend Father, and most worthy of all observance, your Egypt hath sometime felt most grosse and palpable darkness under Pharaoh’s hardened heart, and the people of God served with most intolerable bondage under a cursed tyrant, who hath both vexed the bodies of those miserable men with cruel afflictions, and hindered them from the true worship of God, which was the proper food of their soules. But yet in those times, God Himself did at length overcome the stubbornness and hard heartedness of them, and revenged Himself of their wickedness, by drowning them in the Red Sea, and so tamed and repressed all their impietie.

“ It hath now happened that you and your most religious Christian Church, whose case we must commiserate, groaneth under Pharaoh, under whom ye suffer oftentimes

all extremities, both in bodies and goods. But hee doth not offer to take the service of God from you, or use any such impediments of it, but that ye may offer to God entire and pure sacrifice, (though not with pomp and splendor in the sight of men,) and enjoy peace and content in your exercises of religion, which I hear of with much delight. But as for the Western Churches, the most of them being subject to the Bishop of Rome, are in regard of their temporal estate over-glorious, and whereas they were famous heretofore in regard to the puritee and sinceritee of their love and all internal virtues, even under the persecutions and oppressions of tyrants that were infidels, yet now in this age, they exceeding in all riot and excesses, by God's most just and secret judgment are oppressed under your old Pharaoh and brought again to a miserable bondage. I, therefore, being born and bred and promoted within the Romish verge, and having of long time endured that ancient Egyptian darknesse under the Western Egypt and accursed Pharaoh, did a long time study how to convey myself to the land of Goshen, where the light of the Gospel sheweth most clearly, which at length, by God's helpe, I have happily accomplished; and now a yeare since, or thereabouts, I renounced the Pope and came into England, where I have liberty to write in defence of truth, freely and safely, as in a place where the cause of Christ triumpheth, under a most godly and most wise King, a true defender of the true ancient and Catholic faith. Now of these my workes, *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*<sup>b</sup>, the first birth, being lately published, I send herewith to your Lordship's most religious father, as a pledge of my hearty desire to enter communion with your fatherhood.

"In this tractate I strive to defend and vindicate your

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<sup>b</sup> In 3 vols. folio, published in 1617.

Oriental Churches, and that of Constantinople especially, from all Roman calumniationes. I defend, moreover, the ancient rightes of patriarches, and reduce the Bishop of Rome to his right place, by taking away from him his absolute supremacy. So that I hope you shall finde in this my booke, a ready armour of defence against the Jesuitical weapons.

"Accept of me, then, most blessed Father, as of your most obedient brother and servant; and I pray and beseech you, in all the bowels of Christ, that you will enter into serious consideration of uniting your Eastern Churches with this most noble and flourishing Church of England. For by making such an union against Pharaoh, or rather against antichrist, we shall more easily prevaile against him and remove his tyranny farre from the Church of Christ. Stirre up your zeal, then, most holy Father, and embrace an enterprize so befitting and worthy so great a Patriarch. And if you meet with any difficulty in this businesse, I pray and beseech you, after mature consideration of it, you will be pleased to signifie it, either to my selfe, or to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of England, a man most wise and most studious of propagating the glory of Christ. Cast, then, all the care and strengthe of your minde to take away and utterly abolish so inveterate a schisme. And so farewell in the Lorde. God preserve you long in safety for the good of His Church, most holy and religious Father, as one of the most noble and principal members of his Holy Church, and God keepe you in true charitie and true zeale of preserving the unitie of the Church."

This interesting letter the Archbishop acknowledged to be his, but refused to enter into any explanation of it. It proves two things distinctly; that he was not a spy of the Pope, as was asserted,

or he would never have endeavoured to induce the Patriarch of Alexandria to unite with the Church of England against that of Rome; and, secondly, it proves that at the time of its being written he had tried to put in practice what he had constantly declared to be the anxious wish of his heart, the reunion of all the Churches of the world.

The Archbishop of Canterbury then told him, that for his evil carriage in those things before named, it was his Majesty's pleasure, and in his name it was denounced to him, that whereas he had been a suitor unto him for leave to quit England, his Majesty would not grant him permission, but commanded him that within twenty "days next following, he should depart the kingdom, and all other his Majesty's dominions, at his peril, and never to return again." He answered, "that he would obey, but protested on the faith of an honest man, that he would ever remain a dutiful servant of his Majesty, and a well-wisher of the Church of England, of which he would ever speak well." The Bishop of Durham then reminded him "that he had protested he ever would defend and justify the Church of England for an orthodox Church in all the fundamental points of Christianity, and that he would maintain the same even in the presence of the Pope, although he should do it at the hazard of his life." To this statement the Archbishop of

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\* "*Ecclesie Anglicanae benevolum amatorem simul ac laudatorem perpetuo et ad extremum usque spiritum per mansurum.*" —(*Die Sabbæ Mart.* 4to., 1622.)

Spalatro replied :—" It was true he had said so, and he would perform it, for the Church of England is very orthodox in all essential points, and as for accidental, he did not regard them <sup>a</sup>."

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<sup>a</sup> This document has these words at the conclusion :—" Concordat cum Registro, ita testamur Gulielmus Baker, Thomas Matershed, Notarii Publici." It is extracted from a book with the following title-page :—" M. Ant. De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, his Shiftings in Religion, a man for many masters. Matthew xxvi. 15: 'Et ait illis, Quid vultis mihi dare.' London: printed by John Bill, 1624." Dr. Neale, the Archbishop of York, was the supposed author.



## CHAPTER XV.

**I**T seems to have been a prudent plan to have allowed the current of events recorded in the two last chapters to have passed, unimpeded by occasional observations. The transactions alluded to have been stated almost in the words that were employed at the time of their occurrence. But it may not be useless or uninteresting to close this essay with some remarks upon the extraordinary incidents in this portion of our ecclesiastical history.

The Archbishop of Spalatro, with all his various talents, zeal and learning, had not a settled mind. In his earliest repugnance to the doctrines of the Roman Church, he had been the associate of illustrious and morally excellent men. Dr. Bedell and Paul Sarpi were his familiar friends. The one among the most learned, the most holy, and most zealous advocates of Christian doctrine that ever adorned the Church of England. The other, though nominally a member of the Church of Rome, was the foremost of his age in the maintenance of all that could enlarge and elevate the hopes of a patriot, or sanctify the aspirations of a Christian. The friend of such men must doubtless in some sort have been like them. The ardent desire which animated the Venetian Senate to obtain a free constitution

diffused its kindling power among all that came within the range of its influence. De Dominis had by nature an ardent spirit. Education and a highly accomplished mind had rendered him peculiarly susceptible of being deeply impressed by the passion of freedom. And, as the object of the struggle of Venice was a release from the shackles of spiritual tyranny, the Archbishop felt his whole soul moved upon the point in which all his mental cultivation, all his thoughts, and all his hopes had been engaged and fixed. The desire, too, of an enlargement of civil liberty and ecclesiastical privileges did not animate the Venetians only. It was felt, and manifested itself in many places, with a zeal that seemed, as it were, the echo of that thrilling cry for freedom that awoke mankind at the Reformation from its long sleep, and sanctified the glorious cause. It was not even the society of his most favoured and chosen friends that alone kindled the reforming spirit within him. The people of Italy in many quarters, with their hereditary love of liberty, were animated by the same feelings, and longed for the blessed change that promised increased knowledge and spiritual freedom. In this way, and for these reasons, the Archbishop had the sympathy and sustaining protection of a large portion of the Roman Catholic Church in the resolute step he had taken in his secession from her folds.

It has already been stated that the disappointment felt by Spalatro was severe indeed, when he clearly perceived how very far the King had veered

from what he had considered to be the principles that governed his conduct. His Majesty's patronage of the cause advocated and upheld at the Synod of Dort overthrew all the expectations that he had previously entertained. The Archbishop conceived that this change in the King was calculated to make a deep and lasting impression upon the clergy and Church of England, and, indeed, that the public voice in the Protestant States on the Continent would openly avow a participation in the views which influenced his Majesty's judgment. For not only did the members of the United Provinces join in the demand for extreme measures, but the deputies, as well from England as those that attended the Synod from the Elector Palatine, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, and from the towns of Geneva, Bremen, and Embden, all were equally forward to vindicate and sustain the same cause. The doctrines of the Arminians were almost unanimously condemned, and condemned with this exciting anathema, that they tended to introduce popery into the provinces. This state of feeling, so strongly and generally diffused, must have convinced the mind of the Archbishop that his long-cherished dream of an union of the Reformed Church of England and the Church of Rome had now received, in his estimation, a disastrous blow, or at least it was rendered very precarious, and, if ever attempted, of very doubtful success. The question of the union of the Churches was the perilous loadstone that drew the Archbishop on to



his ruin. He had stated in his letter to the King, that the probability of such an union greatly interested the Pope, and made him anxious for his return to Rome. He says, "The Pope, being certified of my zeal in advancing and furthering the union of all Christian Churches, invited me again to Rome." From hence we may assume that his Holiness was deceitful in suggesting this as an inducement to his return, while other counsellors may have urged it as a justification of it. It seems probable that the Pope may have considered it to be the motive best calculated to influence him to adopt the course of proceeding that would eventually separate him from England, and unite him once more to his interests and the Church of Rome. So that De Dominis, at least in the estimation of the Pope, must have been reckoned a sincere convert for the cause of the union of the Churches which he so ardently professed to espouse.

In the examination of the Archbishop by the persons whom his Majesty had employed to conduct it, he disowned his belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation. This was an acknowledgment that any man in his present condition would scarcely have made, if a probable or plausible contradiction of it could easily have been produced. And it is very remarkable that after he left England, and was actually on his way to Rome, he preached and taught, as he had ever done before, respecting this doctrine. We shall return to this subject again,

and now merely remark that he continued to the close of his life to maintain the same view. Nor is there any trace of an unbiassed change in his opinions until after he was within reach of the iron grasp and vengeance of the Pope on his return to the Holy City. In such a juncture of his fate all the value of an honest judgment and decision on the question was lost in the presence of that tyranny that was most surely exercised to perpetuate the despotism of the spiritual governor that ruled there. It is impossible that any statement could have been more solemnly made than when he asserted he would always continue to profess his admiration of the truth of the doctrines maintained and taught by the Church of England, adding confidently to this declaration, that he would deal freely with the Pope, though, as he said, "I do it at the hazard of my life, and I commit the cause to God." He seemed in some sense to have kept this promise. He risked his life in keeping this engagement, and he lost it in the struggle. Yet it must be acknowledged that one of the statements he made in the examination by the bishops appears to imply that his mind had either been weakened, or his conscience had been warped from the strong position he had previously maintained respecting the terms on which an union of the Churches could be undertaken or negotiated. It is assumed by him as a settled position, from which no variation of circumstances could admit of any departure, that a Church

desirous of re-union with Rome, and considered by her to be in a state of schism, cannot be in a condition to realize and consummate the harmony she longs for, until previously the act of schism is renounced. The Church that differs or is at disagreement with Rome, must, in the first place, confess her superiority and freedom from all error, by effacing from her own creed whatever doctrines or ceremonies she does not acknowledge to have been received from the fountain head. Then, after this submission and confession, we are told, "there may be admitted lawful preamble and orderly proceedings about reformation."

This is, in fact, a declaration that whenever the power of the Pope has been greatly augmented by the Reformed Church having renounced their faith, or abolished or corrupted their purer creed, and withdrawn or not boldly avowed their confessions of Church communion, that then and thus, one party having become more powerful, and their authority more distinctly and directly recognised, and in a corresponding degree the other enfeebled and degraded, in this altered condition the supremacy of the Church of Rome having been acknowledged, though her system of faith had been repudiated, she would then, forsooth, become more tolerant, and would publicly confess that the credentials of her Church needed renovation and amendment. And all this is supposed as likely to occur at the moment when she was placed, by the crouching servility of

the Protestant Church and her abandonment of truth, in a more favourable condition to maintain her creed inviolate, and perpetuate her power in undiminished sway by the circulation of her pure and holy faith.

Such a proceeding would be, in fact, to proclaim truth by upholding falsehood, and vindicate the Gospel by aiding and maintaining the cause that injures and degrades it.

The Archbishop employed every ingenious device to protect his name and character from the just suspicion that his mind had undergone any change in doctrine. He professed, indeed, to hold the same creed he had before promulgated since his adoption to the reformed faith, and previous to his coming to England. To authenticate this declaration, he appealed to writings which he stated were in the possession of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and that these would corroborate his averment. He insisted that he never maintained certain doctrines which some members of the Church of England avowed as the sense of her articles and Church services. And he added that he did not now veer from what he had always considered the plain and obvious meaning of them. But the concessions which we have already stated that he was willing to make, blended strangely with the declaration that he now advanced. For instance, it is recorded, as we have seen, that till lately he declared he had not understood the question of schism. But from

the period of this announcement, it was remarked that he became more cautious and wary, and perhaps more wily. When this confession of his present opinions is compared with the zealous exhortations he addressed to the Patriarch of Alexandria to unite with the Church of England for the purpose of marking the contrariety between the Eastern and Western Churches more palpably visible and felt, the thoughts suggested are very important and worthy of deep consideration. We must indeed inquire, and difficult will it be to obtain, or indeed to imagine, any satisfactory reply to the question, Why did the Archbishop of Spalatro indite the letter to the Patriarch, if, when it was written, his religious profession was not sincere? The document beautifully exhibits all the earnestness and devoted ardour of his previous compositions. To assume the probability of the most extreme and contradictory suppositions, if the Archbishop at the time were a traitor to the principles he avowed and the cause he professed to maintain; if his secret design had been first to seduce the King, and then, by means of his weakness or his vanity, to corrupt him, that he might more successfully betray the Church, how did his conduct respecting the proposed union of the Eastern Church and the Church of England contribute to the success of the scheme he had undertaken to execute? How could the accusation urged with such vehemence, that he was a spy of the Pope, be possibly true, while, as is asserted, his real object in advocating a union of the Churches

was, that he might be more effectually enabled to oppress and overwhelm the other? And, especially, how could this contingency of events be brought into connection, if a chief ingredient in this perplexing conspiracy was first an adulteration of the whole Eastern Church, and when this was accomplished, then to destine her to be the tool and slave of the universal conqueror and tyrant of all Churches, as well as the victim of the great ecclesiastical despot of the West?

If the Archbishop had been the master-spirit of this mighty and contradictory device, he might and ought to have perceived that he was indeed erecting the stage upon which his own name and fortunes were doomed to be ruined. Instead of deceit and treachery being employed as the means and passports to the elevation of his character and position, does it not seem more probable that even he must have foreseen that exactly the opposite result would have ensued? For surely the object in giving the advice which his epistle to the Patriarch contained, was to promote, by the assistance of a powerful, and most eminently influential supposed ally in doctrine and design, the great and noble cause upon which his reputation in learning and his elevated rank were staked, namely, the union of the Churches of Christendom upon a reforming and Scriptural foundation.

What the Archbishop of Spalatro said of Cardinal Bellarmine after his arrival in Rome tends to confirm these views, and that his mind was not at peace,

nor had his hopes yet found a resting-place in the Church of Rome. He declared that the Cardinal had not yet answered the objections he had urged against the Roman doctrines\*. This at least indicates that there was a restlessness about his faith that made him uneasy and unsatisfied. This state of mind was very unlike the accustomed tone of self-complacency that seems to expel all doubts from the conscience, and to elevate and compose the tempers of the more pliant members of the Church of Rome. The language, too, in which we shall presently see that the Inquisition registered their opinion and condemnation of his faith, perfectly accords with these conjectural observations upon the whole tenor of the last years of his life. For the doctrines he maintained during his residence in England are essentially the same for which heresy is branded upon his name and grave by the holy fathers of the Inquisition after his return to Rome. If the Archbishop had been a practised impostor all through his changeful career, as these and various other representations depict him, pretending to maintain doctrines which he disowned and denied, he was in truth a deceiver without the accustomed rewards of divination, or more ex-

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\* This sentence by some has been supposed to allude to the statement that the Cardinal was the author of the *Consilium Reditæ*, and if so, that the Archbishop did not consider the publication an answer to the "*Consilium Profectus*, or the Manifestation of Motives." But this subject is discussed more fully in another place.

actly, perhaps, the dupe of the disciplined instructors in the art of treachery. He gained no advancement in reputation or position, he was the theme of the scurrilous tongues of defamers while he lived, and of their envenomed vituperation when he was no more.



## CHAPTER XVI.

IN examining all the features of this remarkable case, perhaps there is not on record a change so apparently sudden and complete, or attended with similar circumstances, as that of the Archbishop of Spalatro on his return to Rome. His renunciation of his creed in the first instance seemed to have been gradually and honestly adopted. It was not the effervescent excitement of any intemperate movement. His great work, *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*, was the result of ten years' laborious research and thought. It was commenced for the satisfaction of his own mind and conscience, and published as well to vindicate his justification of his altered faith, as to promote a similar movement in other minds. No one could have foreseen or expected such a revolution in the opinions of so able a divine and so learned a scholar, who had exercised such anxious care to justify his adoption of the reformed faith. Besides, there were many circumstances favourable to the advancement and additional culture of the religious aspirations of the Archbishop. The excitement at Venice in favour of the truth, the cause of liberty itself, so attractive to a mind like his, while the foremost men of that alluring city were so energetically engaged in the

movement, and these men as noble—indeed more noble—by the rich gift of great mental powers as they were illustrious by all the adventitious aids of position and circumstance; and, still above all these attractions, the intimate connection of some of the promoters of this glorious enterprize, Do Dominis, Paul Sarpi, and Bedell\*,—all these various and seductive inducements seemed to realize the blessed consummation, that the lovers of truth and freedom had most harmoniously united together to propagate with effect and zeal, as well in religion as in the cause of civil liberty, independence of thought, and action, and purity of principle. Then, again, in consequence of the well-known opinions of Paul Sarpi, there appeared to be no reason to excite distrust or doubt, when another individual, of eminent abilities and unbounded learning, declared himself an advocate of a faith that was in still closer accordance with the reformers' principles than the ascetic theories of the retired hermit of a monk's cell like the illustrious Paul Sarpi; while the open and public declaration of the creed and Church that Spalatro had espoused, and the attractive manifestation of his sincerity, evinced by his renunciation of his high and envied position, seemed to justify the general joy that attended his secession from the Church of Rome.

We have before remarked that the great evil of

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\* See *Defensio Ecclesie Angl. contra Archiepisc. Spalatens. Crakenthorp*, p. 31, edit. 1625.

Spalatro's education had been the dangerous absence of the only true and safe support to enable him to maintain consistency in the adoption of the doctrines of the Church of England, his unsatisfactory knowledge of the Word of God. Learning he had in great store; but human authority is likely sometimes to compete successfully with human learning. Each has only earth to build on; but power unrestrained can at once appeal to means that can efficaciously display its pretensions, and, when required, enforce them.

In all the interviews that took place before he left England between the heads of the Church and the Archbishop, he did not volunteer or obtrude any condemnation respecting her doctrine or her ceremonies. On the contrary, he professed, as he had ever done, the highest admiration for her whole system, for her articles, her form of prayer, her ritual and government. No language can be more positive and determined than that which he uses to convey these opinions. It may be true, and there are sufficient reasons to justify the supposition, that he was disappointed in his expectation of high office in the Church of England. He also became fully sensible that his long-cherished hope of a union of the Churches was a fruitless dream. For he too late discovered that the peace of mind which he loved in Bedell, and the chastened ardour which he revered in Paul Sarpi, were never likely to be realized in that united Church which at one time was proposed to be formed from the Churches and

the parties which these illustrious and holy men represented, if such professors as Gomarus were a type of the Protestant portion of the coalition, and the disciples or flatterers of Gondomar composed the other.

Different opinions may be taken of the sincerity of the Archbishop's opinions at this period of his history from the predispositions under which the judgment is influenced in forming it. But a candid examination of the following circumstances is really necessary in making an unbiassed decision. It may be remembered that the Archbishop, when he deserted the Church of Rome, publicly assigned the reasons that induced him to unite himself to the Church of England. He published this justification under the title of "*Consilium Profectus*, or the Manifestation of Motives." We have in the previous part of this history made several extracts from this book. And now, when he abandoned the Church of England, there appeared a publication in which his secession from the Church of England is explained and vindicated. We wish to afford our readers an opportunity of judging whether there appear to be any probable grounds for supposing that this latter treatise was not the free unfettered exposition of Spalatro's own mind, and, moreover, whether in fact he was a participator in its composition. It is possible that the Archbishop may have prepared before he left England and returned to Rome, and even during the period of his pretended or real attachment and admiration

of the Church of England, those disquisitions that appeared in his name, and were supposed to have displayed his condemnation and hatred of her creed, and his abhorrence of her principles. Doubtless such compositions did appear, in which he was declared to be the author. It is undeniable that in the publication so put forth there is no portion of her faith, there is no rule to explain her ceremonies or enforce her discipline, that the author, whoever he may have been, had not, as it would seem, accurately disjointed and taken to pieces, and upon every fragment of her system and every shred of her policy and creed had virulently inscribed condemnation unmeasured, merciless, and even without the semblance of any reserve, not to say without even the pretence of being equitable or candid in this decision. There appears to be no possible mode of explaining this melancholy evidence of a distorted or weak judgment, or depraved conduct, but one of these two suppositions.

De Dominis may have been from the beginning a practised deceiver. He may have visited England as a pliant disciple and most adroit pupil of the crafty and treacherous foes of the Church of England. We are aware, as has been stated, that he had been promised the high office of Cardinal as the bribe of his abandonment of the Church, and some have been willing to believe that he entertained the aspiring ambition and hope of reaching the Popedom itself.

There is, however, another aspect under which

these events must be reviewed. The authorities at Rome must have known that De Dominis had been subjected to examination by the Commissioners appointed by the King. He had not on these occasions precisely or in accurate terms declared dissent from the principles of the Church of England. He had not impeached her creed or urged any objection to her discipline, but he had avowed his determination to resign his preferments in England and return to Rome. The only reasons he publicly declared were his advanced age, the cold air of England, and the absence of his own familiar friends. Now the necessary consequences of the position in which he was thus placed were, that he left himself, completely and for ever, without protection either from England or from Rome. He had been the friend and the foe of each Church, at one time the able and pliant subject, at another the bold and daring rebel against the authority of both the Churches. He was therefore altogether without assistance, allies, or friends in any quarter. As he had exerted his great talents and learning to prostrate in the dust the lofty position of the Church of Rome, to display and demonstrate the corruptions of her creed and the unapostolical character of her ritual and ceremonies, and to tarnish her great name by every imaginable disparagement and insult, it was now her hour of vengeance. And history has written in terrible characters that Rome is merciless in exacting punishment, not only from an ordinary deserter of her fold, but she

exacts her revenge with awful anger from the learned and gifted upbraider of her faith. The retribution, therefore, that she would visit on such a highly elevated person as the Archbishop of Spalatro would be commensurate to the station of the culprit, and at least adequate repayment for the injuries which one so gifted by ability and learning had displayed against the Church. If the delinquent's opportunity or power to wound and expose her had been very high and distinguished, so most assuredly would the vengeance be. Bearing in mind, then, that there was no shelter from the impending storm, that he had banished himself from the great asylum in which all the deserted or the persecuted of the earth have ever found sympathy or friendship, he now felt himself pinioned under the iron grasp of a ruthless tyrant, compelled to do his bidding, and not permitted with his own voice to remonstrate in his bondage, or even publicly to murmur against his taskmaster.

When the Archbishop's return to Rome was planned by the skilful intrigues of Gondomar, it may be remembered that he declared that De Dominis was required to promise the revocation of the opinions he had avowed and maintained against the Church. The ecclesiastical authorities at Rome then arranged the plan by which this promise was to be carried into execution. It was regulated with this design, that all the mischief that ever had arisen, or possibly might befall her from his defection, might be repaired, not only by the

author's own return to the Church he had first betrayed and then vilified, but by his vindication of the creed he had so injuriously abandoned, and then with such acrimony assailed and exposed. In the "Manifestation of the Motives" he had declared the reasons and arguments that had influenced him in abjuring the Romish faith. And when he had resolved once more to avow—or perhaps he was made to appear to avow—the Church he had renounced, it so happened that, either by the guidance of his own will, or compelled by the imperative authority of a tyrant power that could not be gainsayed or resisted, he published, as proceeding from himself, or others did in his name publish, *Consilium Reditus*. In this book were detailed the reasons that influenced him—if indeed he were the author—of renouncing the Church of England and returning to the Roman fold. All the arguments he had avowed in his former work, the "Manifestation of Motives," he now denied, and rejected their force; and he either recalled or refuted them in this publication. Indeed, the author rehearsed with punctilious accuracy a renunciation of each and every argument and fact that the Archbishop ever adduced or alleged against the Church of Rome. If the *Consilium Reditus* had been the production of other minds than his own, he must have seen at once that he was a betrayed tool in the hands of skilful operators in mischief. For whatever was the cause of his changed spirit, he soon exhibited a tone of mind and temper that



shewed he felt he was a despised and deserted instrument in the hands of others. He winced under the oppression of his merciless taskmasters, and yearned after—what was the secret longing of his harassed soul—an attachment to, and admiration of, the Church of England. For even in his estrangement from everything that on earth could mitigate his wretchedness or in any way cheer his miserable doom, he renounced some of the most seductive parts of the Roman system, as their fascinated votaries consider them to be.

We shall endeavour to produce some evidence that these are not unjustifiable assumptions, but have sufficient foundation to rest on.

It may be remembered that in the interview between the Archbishop of Spalatro and the Bishops of London and Durham and others, he had used these words:—"I profess before God and Jesus Christ our Lord, that I shall always from my heart acknowledge and openly profess, that I consider the Church of England to be a true and orthodox Church; and if I shall ever think or say otherwise, I will permit all men to say that I am completely without principle or honour, and I declare that I will act with the Pope in this matter, though it may be to the danger of my life."

In evidence that this statement was verified by the subsequent conduct of De Dominis, we shall select one subject that is calculated to confirm this opinion, and that the *Consilium Reditus* was not

written by him, but was most probably prepared and concocted at Rome. In the last examination of the Archbishop, he was called on to explain how he could communicate in the Church of Rome, which held the doctrine of transubstantiation, and at the same time with the Church of England, which maintained precisely the opposite opinion. He answered, he could communicate with both. The Bishop of Durham reminded him that he had heard him say that he never did or would believe in transubstantiation. He acknowledged that he had so expressed himself, and that his opinion was now unaltered; but he considered this an error only in philosophy, not in divinity.

In these statements there is an avowal that he had ever maintained the same opinion. He repeated it in January, 1622, and again in the March following. He left England in that year. He was to receive the Pope's breve at Brussels to enable him to return to Rome, and on his way there he preached at Antwerp. Grotius was then a resident of that city, and in writing to his brother in 1622, he thus mentions the Archbishop:—

"I have read some of the productions of Mark Antony De Dominis, who is now celebrating high mass in Antwerp. On the question of grace and free-will he evidently maintains the same opinions as we do. On other points he is a follower of Cassander, with the exception of his attacking transubstantiation and other dogmas with greater boldness. I wonder what he will say about the

change of his religion. Perhaps he will say that he has not altered his religion, for he considers the Roman Catholic and the Protestant alike."

There were three editions of the *Consilium Reditū* published at Rome, and all in the year 1623. It seems strange that they were not published or circulated till this year. Yet the Archbishop had left England in April, 1622. Why was this delay? Simply because the inquisitors, who had the entire management of this affair, knew full well that if the publication had issued from the press previous to the return of De Dominis to Rome, and while freedom of action remained to him, he would have disowned the publication as not truly representing the opinions he entertained on the several questions discussed in it. Therefore the authorities at Rome wisely took counsel together, and decided that the work should not appear till the Archbishop would be safely and irrecoverably within reach of their vengeance, and under the full sway of their authority. His wily foes foresaw that he would not avow the opinions which he really entertained, if he were in Rome. Nor could he with security do so<sup>b</sup>. But once being there, and under their

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<sup>b</sup> "Vix autem Romam appulit et palinodiam cecinit, quum ob voces quasdam temere effutitas, in carcerem Pontificium, qui Romæ est in Castello S. Angeli, coniectus fuit, ubi animam efflavit, A.D. 1624. Non sine veneni suspitione. Post mortem, hæretici pravitatis ab inquisitoribus damnatus est; libri a carnifice usti, corpus exhumatum et in campo Floræ igni crematum est."—(*Defens. Eccles. Angl. Crakenhorp. Monitum*, p. v.

guardianship, he could easily be compelled to register their decisions, as if they were the voluntary expression of his own judgment upon them. So remorseless were they in their exactions, that they actually made him publish in his own name—that is, they published in his name—a refutation of one of his own compositions, which had on its title-page the name of Mark Antony De Dominis as its author. In fact, their vengeance for his former declarations against their faith was not satisfied with sacrifices less than these. But when they had their great foe crippled and chained, they could mock and torture him to the full bent of their fury; and they gratified it to the extreme point, when with fertile cunning they managed that he should proclaim his refutation of all the arguments he had ever adduced against their creed and Church; and, as if to glut their revenge and to prostrate ignominiously in the dust, even his high character as a theologian and a scholar, they published his own answer to his own theories and facts. This was surely plenary retribution for all past delinquencies, and it served, at the same time, as a perpetual barrier against the future employment of his abilities or learning in their service.

At Brussels he received his breve, and passed on to Rome. And now his revengeful enemies began to ply their work of mischief with zeal. They im-

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A new and valuable edition published by Messrs. Parker, Oxford, 1847, and superintended by a most accomplished and competent authority.)

mediately published the *Consilium Reditus*, in Latin, Dutch, and English\*, in order that all parties that had been influenced by the eloquent and awakening publications of the Archbishop in defence of the Church of England and the cause of the Reformation might immediately be put into possession of the great delinquent's abnegation of the creed he had assumed as his own, and advocated with all the fervour of his new-born zeal and great ability. The emissaries of the Church at Rome hoped that by this contrivance they would be enabled to remove, from the minds of those who, in Italy, or England, or Holland, had been perverted by his writings, any justifiable excuse for their continuance in a heterodox faith, which would be taken away by the refutation of any arguments that had been used in its defence by him who had seduced them.

We shall select an instance or two from the *Consilium Reditus* which shall be a fair example of all parts of this extraordinary book, and will afford ample evidence how strongly his enemies, the inquisitors, were excited against him, and to what extreme measures they resorted to damnify, in

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\* *Marcus Antonius De Dominis, Archiepisc. Spalatens. svi Reditus ex Anglia Consilium exponit Romæ ex typographia Rev. Cameræ Apostolicæ 1623. Superiorum permisso.*

*Redemen Van Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Aerts-bischoep Van Spalatur. Romæ, 1623.*

"Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, declares the Cause of his Return out of England. Translated out of the Latin copy printed at Rome this present year, 1623."

every possible way, his reputation by the use of the copious means of degrading his character, to which he had rendered himself obnoxious.

De Dominis had published some years before a work which excited great attention,—*Scogli del Cristiano Naufrageo*<sup>a</sup>. This work was very specific and exact in its charges, and for this reason was particularly odious to the Church of Rome. The rocks were intended to represent the false doctrines of her faith. The author enumerates the most prominent of them, and accompanies the recital with a full refutation, and not in the most attractive or gentle spirit. This book is condemned by name and title in the *Consilium Reditus*. To make, as it were, an apology for ever having written it, they who now governed the words and actions of the Archbishop compel him to state, that originally, and when he was quite free to think and speak as he pleased, and when he was under no force or fear, he had undertaken the composition of the condemned publication “without his own choice;” that “it was written in a hurry;”

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<sup>a</sup> The English translation of this book was, “The Rocks of Christian Shipwrecks discovered by the Holy Church of Christ to her beloved Children, that may keep aloof from them. Written in Italian, by the Most Reverend Father Marc Ant. De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, and thereout translated into English by John Bill, 1618.”

<sup>c</sup> “Libellum istum sine delectu et tumultuarie conscriptum. Dum in Anglia eadem librum hunc detestatum esse.”—(*Consilium Reditus*, p. 16.)

and that even while he was in England "he detested it." Can any one believe that such a record of treachery and meanness was a voluntary act of humiliation? He then rehearses eighteen dogmas of the Church of England which he characterized as heresies that he loathed and abominated, and as if these expressions were not sufficient to assuage the Pontiff's wrath against him, he accurately recapitulates eighteen doctrines of his new faith, which he now embraces as Catholic verities defined by the council of Trent, and amongst them the supremacy of the Pope.

In a similar way the inquisitors published, as proceeding from him, a contradiction of a remarkable passage in the sermon which he had preached in the Italian chapel in London, in 1617, in which he had thanked God that he had been wonderfully delivered from the thick darkness of the Roman Church, and admitted to the heavenly light of the Church of England. But in the *Consilium Reditus* he states that the light of truth shines in the Roman Church, and in it only, and that beyond it, especially in England, there is nothing but the thickest darkness everywhere<sup>1</sup>.

It is almost impossible to believe that the Archbishop made the statements, already alluded to, with respect to his attachment to the Church of England before the King's commissioners, and afterwards

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<sup>1</sup> "Præsertim in Anglia nil nisi densissimas tenebras esse."—(*Ibid.*, p. 21.)

preached the sermon at Antwerp, immediately preceding his return to Rome, and yet, on his arrival in that city, that he published a copious refutation of the doctrines he had professed to maintain, and volunteered a venomous and calumnious assault upon the Church which he had so clearly, and at the same time with such eloquence and admiration, defended and extolled. If we could for a moment give credit to the scarcely plausible explanation that the contradiction to the profession of his attachment to the Church of England had for its object some immediate advantage either as to his personal safety, or his freedom from or mitigation of angry crimination, what possible advantage could be alleged as the motive that urged him to preach the sermon that Grotius heard him deliver? The letter in which this announcement is declared repeats and records the fervid profession that the Archbishop made in favour of the doctrines which that sermon contained, and which he is represented so soon to have falsified and denied. Can it be conceived that any man, even an abandoned one, would brand his name with lasting infamy, to which he could have no present or future motive to entice him, and heedlessly, as it were, and without an object, to fling upon his reputation? And when at last the hour of his public condemnation arrived, and when the voice of Rome's inquisitors pronounced it, and by malicious allies he was doomed to an irrevocable sentence, was not the assigned justification of his punishment, his continued



denial of a belief in transubstantiation, a doctrine which he had repeatedly abjured?

Surely the justifiable inference from these facts can be this only,—that he had delivered a true account of the opinions he maintained on that doctrine; and, on the other hand, that his pretended renunciation of them in the tone, and temper, and language in which it is conveyed in the *Consilium Reditis*, is the audacious forgery of the authorities at Rome. Indeed, this interpretation of the circumstances attending this eventful transaction seems to have the weight of the sanction of perhaps the ablest controversialist, and, besides, the bitter enemy of De Dominis, that ever illuminated by his reasoning and very profound learning the creed and history of the Church of Rome\*. And what, it may be asked, were the

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\* As to the ability and learning of Crakenthorp, there cannot be higher evidence than his own dissertation on Transubstantiation in the 72nd, 73rd, and 74th chapters of his *Defens. Eccles. Anglicanæ*, pp. 476—536, perhaps the ablest commentary extant in any language on the subject. There is not any work on the Roman controversy so useful as this book; and, if it were purged of some coarse and too strong expressions, more calculated to do good, if translated.

As to his hostility, alluded to in the text, to De Dominis, the following passage, one of many thousand, is an ordinary specimen:—"O hominem vilissimum, apostatam, Atheum, omnifidum, nullifidum, bipedum omnium miserrimum, cujus cordi ac fibris plus fraudis et fellis inest quam Magi Simonis; qui fidem ac religionem non aliter quam marsupio tuo metiris; cui non lingua solum et stylus et manus et mens, sed religio, fides, etiam et Deus ipse venalis est. Vident vero nunc omnes, quid

overwhelming inducements that so wrought upon the holy fraternity of the Inquisition to enter into and perpetrate the bold design of sacrificing to their vengeance the life of the Archbishop of Spalatro? At any risk, if possible, it was conceived that the interests of the Roman Church demanded the removal of the great plague-spot which De Dominis had imprinted upon the history of the times. They considered that no head could so ably devise, and no hand with equal power could indite, the vindication of the Church as his that had with such galling truth inscribed it there. From no other advocate could possibly proceed such a successful, or to them so useful, a defence of the creed and ceremonies of their Church, as from him who had denied her apostolical character, and torn from the image that deluded piety had set up the false ornaments by which she had captivated her votaries and defiled the purity of the Gospel.

Whether the Church of Rome had the art to

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te in Romanam reduxit Ecclesiam, non ulla fidei sinceritas, non religionis ullus amor, non ulla vitæ sanctitas non denique Deus alius nisi Deus Venter, et Deus Lucro, nec Diva alia, nisi Diva Voluptas et Diva Moneta."—(See Crakenthorp, p. 35.)

Dr. Crakenthorp, though a very bitter commentator on the conduct of the Archbishop, remarked at the period of these transactions, when comparing the temperate decision that Spalatro had made in joining the Church of England with his hasty return to the Church of Rome, "Utra ex tuis verior professio? Illa ne quæ tua sponte, quæ post sævum decennale examen facta? an illa quæ coëquimur CUM SUB LICTORIS FLAGELLO EXTORTA?"—(*Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ contra Arch. Spalatens.*, p. 32.)

persuade, or exercised the power to compel, the Archbishop to undertake this degraded office, must for ever remain an uncertainty. No one could ever have revealed this secret but the members of the Inquisition, and he whose voice no man ever heard after his imprisonment. In either case, the conspirators against the Archbishop's peace of mind while he lived, and his reputation when he was no more, had completely attained their design and object. The enemy of the Church of Rome, who had exposed her creed, and laid naked the arts by which she had been upheld, could, without contradiction, be pointed at as the person who had renounced the Roman Church, and then craved admission to her folds and became the defender of her policy and the advocate of her faith.

There were in the *Consilium Reditus* many statements set forth to vindicate the Church of Rome, and refute the arguments which the Archbishop had advanced in other publications, particularly in the "Manifestation of Motives." Indeed, the titles of these two compositions indicate that the one was to appear as a reply to the other. The *Consilium Profectus* had its reputation and triumph in the *Consilium Reditus*. Such a course of proceeding might justifiably have been adopted, in the estimation of some, by any defender of the cause that De Dominis now was supposed to advocate. It is not the cause of the Church of Rome, however, her creed and ritual, that are the questions here, but the character of De Dominis that is assailed, and, it ought to

be remembered, assailed violently in a publication vauntingly declared to proceed from the Archbishop of Spalatro. No friend of De Dominis, and least of all would he, as a voluntary act, openly vindicate the cause he had opposed, and at the same time malign himself. Opinions may change, and in their mutations be defended by the same author. But no man willingly calumniates himself. The unavoidable inference from these circumstances is, that he is not the author of the publication in which he is exposed to the ridicule and contempt of mankind, and upbraided and defamed by himself. But the real author must have been a writer deeply involved in upholding the reputation of the Roman Church, and, at the same time, interested in the calumination of De Dominis. And it was soon discovered that the most profitable advocate of her position that could be selected, was he who had been the eloquent and able vilifier of her creed and the slanderer of his own fame. Thus, as has happened before, a falsehood was invented that the Church might flourish by her own corruptions, and bear sway because she was unfit to rule.

Deluded by Gondomar, and deceived by his own vanity, the Archbishop may have been induced to give a general assent to the doctrines of the Church of Rome, as the treacherous condition of his return to her fold. Yet this return, as promised by him, rests upon the representation that the Spanish Ambassador made of the interview between the parties, and other similar evidence. But we

cannot suppose, even if these statements are true, that he did not reserve, at least in his own mind, certain points of doctrine from which, in all the phases of his vacillating career, he had strenuously contended for; and it should be borne in mind that the announcement he made at Antwerp was subsequent to his interview with the Spanish Ambassador. But once within the fangs of the ecclesiastical tyrant that ruled at Rome, the hour of all equitable adjustment or remonstrance was closed for ever. There was no court where the voice of justice would be heard. There was no impartial judge to regulate the terms of agreement. For when the demand was made that the renunciation of the Church of England should be declared in the language of others, and not in his own, and yet that it should proceed from the press as if it were the echo of his own voice and conscience, rigid compliance with the decree of his stern dictators was the only exercise of his judgment that he was permitted to observe. But he assented to these irreparably ruinous terms to his reputation, simply because he had no power to refuse, and not even any opportunity to reject them. He learned at last, but too late, that death and the resignation of all hope of earthly glory or honour was the only doom within his reach, where his tainted reputation could repose in silence. At last he resigned himself to his fate and sought rest in the grave. The knowledge that his public career was at an end brought upon his ashes, when dead, the visitation of the

vengeance that had panted for an opportunity to display and indulge itself while he lived.

The document containing these facts is, as a great curiosity, appended to these pages, where, besides the statement already made and repeated, additional evidence is produced that the Archbishop once more wiped out of his creed, if it ever had a place there, a belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Under all these circumstances, can any one believe that the Archbishop undertook to vilify the Church of England, and to vindicate the doctrines of the Roman Church which he had so ably refuted and condemned? Doubtless he was an ambitious man. His ambition, too, may have been disappointed of its wished-for end and aim, in both the Churches in which he had attained high position. It must, too, be admitted that his creed was only the result which a clear head had begetten from a vast store of learning. But his learning had not been under the guidance and sway of a heart that God had subdued and taught. Though he had been a skilled proficient and pupil of Jesuit teachers, it happened in his case, as it has happened before, that adepts in art are often the most sure victims of artifice. For the decree will for ever remain unchanged, that to the end "dust shall be the serpent's meat".<sup>a</sup> Gondomar had practised upon him with his keenest skill. There is reason to believe that the Spanish Amba-

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<sup>a</sup> Isaiah lxy. 25.

sador, who had ruined him in the estimation of James I. by his incomparable cunning, transcended this successful deed of deceit by yet a greater act of treachery. The desire that seemed to infuse its influence into all the occupations and learned labours of Spalatro, was to devote all his ability and studies to produce an union of the Reformed Churches and that of Rome. He discussed this question in many attractive ways in the seventh book of his *Republica*, and proposed several expedients to facilitate its success. Gondomar urged him to visit Rome in order that he might achieve the cherished object of his learning and his hopes. He had often given many various testimonies how near his heart lay the execution of this attractive but most vain project. His eloquent and powerful letter to the Patriarch of Alexandria proves sufficiently that this design was entertained as no frivolous speculation, but that he laboured to promote it with all the fervour of his genius and the activity of his ardent mind in an extensive region of the Church of Christ. The following extract from the life of Dr. Morton, Bishop of Durham, abundantly proves that the Archbishop of Spalatro was deceived and betrayed :—

“The Archbishop’s pretence in going to Rome was to negotiate an unity in religion between the Church of Rome and that of England, upon those moderate grounds which he had laid down in his works printed in London. He thought himself more likely to execute his design by reason of the seasonable opportunity which he had at that

time, when Gregory XV. was newly chosen Pope, who had been his old and intimate acquaintance, being brought up at the same school and college with him. Besides, if he failed in the attempt, he hoped he should lose nothing but his labour, since Count Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador in England, *who had persuaded him to that journey*, had promised him the protection of the King of Spain, his master. While he was full of this design and hopes, Bishop Morton came to visit him, and among other discourse with him, had the following in Latin, which shews how little the authority of the Council of Trent would be, if it were not for the terror of the Inquisition.

"*Morton.* My Lord, what is in your mind that induces you to go to Rome? Is it your intention to convert the Pope and the papal conclave?"

"*De Dominis.* Why not, my Lord? Do you suppose that they are devils, and incapable of conversion?"

"*Morton.* I by no means account them devils, neither do I consider his Grace of Spalatro to be God, and able to effect such a miracle. For does not your Lordship know the Council of Trent?"

"*De Dominis.* I am, indeed, my Lord, well acquainted with it, and I venture to assure your Lordship that there are thousands of thousands in Italy who have no faith whatever in that Council.

"This discourse, and many others, having passed between them, they parted in a friendly manner, and not long after, our Bishop wrote a long letter to the Archbishop, to dissuade him from his intended journey, in which, among other arguments for that purpose, he used one in which he shewed himself a true prophet concerning the reception he was likely to receive at Rome. This fell out accordingly, for Gregory XV., the Archbishop's old friend, died before he came thither, and a successor was chosen in his place, by whom the Archbishop was imprisoned in the



castle of St. Angelo<sup>1</sup>, where he died, not without suspicion of murder or poison, and his body was afterwards burned, as that of a heretic, in the Campo Fiori."

"The<sup>2</sup> late Archbishop of Spalatro being dead, his body was put into a well-pitched coffin, and that into another greater than it, and so was it carried to be kept in the convent of the Holy Apostles, and there committed to the charge of the reverend fathers of that place, until such time as the cause of the said Archbishop, still depending, should be determined by the Sacred Congregation; that according to their sentence, whatever justice did require, might be done upon him.

"The sentence being framed and ready to be put in execution, the said body was first recognized according to the forme of law, and was taken the twentieth of this present month of December, forth from the convent where it was left, and carried to the church of Minerva, and there laid upon a table in an eminent place, together with his picture and a little sack of books which he had printed; and where it stood all the night.

"The next morning, at the time appointed, the most illustrious and most reverend lords cardinals, supreme inquisitors, with many others, to the number of sixteen, or thereabout, being met together, after they had delivered over a certain Milannois (who under the feigned name and habit of a Greek, notwithstanding he had never been

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Regia*, vol. iv. p. 251, and note; *Camdeni Apparatus*, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> See "A Relation sent from Rome, of the Processe, Sentence, and Execution upon the Body, Picture, and Bookes of Marcus Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, after his Death; published by command. London: printed by John Bill, Printer to the King's most excellent Majestie. 1624."

made priest, had presumed to celebrate mass both in the holy house of Loretto and elsewhere) unto the powers the 23rd of this present month aforesaid, to be first hanged and afterwards burned, was the sentence of the said Archbishop read to this effect.

"First of all, the manner of his escape and going into England was recounted, and what he had there done in preaching and in printing, and how that upon better advice and bethinking of himself, he preferred a supplication unto our Lord the Pope, shewing that he would willingly return again into the bosom of the Holy Church, if he might be secured of his pardon, and also that he would abjure all and every heresy which he had heretofore maintained. He came to Rome. He did all accordingly. He obtained grace and pardon of his Holiness, and so continued there for a long time.

"But because his conversion was not sincere and from his heart, but feigned only, he began at length in his familiar discourses to break forth into most heinous heresies, and would needs maintain that what he had said before was true. Therefore he was put into the holy Inquisition, and in the process which was framed against him, we find that he held the heresies hereunder written.

"1. That the Council of Trent had declared many things *de fide* which were not.

"2. That the sects of heretics might be reduced unto one Church if the Church of Rome would remit some of those things which in process of time she had determined to be *de fide*, instancing in particular the article of transubstantiation.

"3. That there might be made an union between the Church of Rome and the Protestant heretics, they both agreeing in *articulis fundamentalibus*.

"4. That it may well be questioned of some articles, and of many things defined in the Council of Trent, to be

*de fide*, whether they were sufficiently discussed and defined, yea or no.

"There were some other articles besides, but they fall within the compass of these. After these false and heretical propositions were read, it was related how they that were of the kindred of the said Archbishop (or whosoever else would pretend to be willing to undertake the defence of his cause) were cited, and some of them made their appearance at the time appointed them; but when they saw the process, together with the Archbishop's own confession, they renounced him, and would do nothing in his behalf.

"Whereupon the most illustrious and most reverend lords proceeded unto a definitive *sentence*, which was, to declare him unworthy of the favour of the Holy See apostolic, to deprive him of all his honour, benefit, or dignity, confiscate his goods, and give him over to the secular powers, as *de facto* they then gave him over, that he and his picture, together with the books he had written, should be burned.

"This sentence being read, the said coffin there present, the picture and the books were delivered over to my lord the Governor of Rome, who desired that the body might be re-viewed and recognized anew, which was done accordingly, and presently the said Governor gave order that the corpee, together with the other things, should be carried into Campo di Fiori, to be there burned.

"But because they found no man that was willing of himself to carry him to the said place, therefore the serjeants took up certain porters whom they found and constrained to go along with them and to take up the said corpee, picture, and books, which, being carried into Campo di Fiori, were there instantly burned. And because the said Archbishop towards the end of his life made show as if he had been penitent for the heresies which he had held

*de novo* after his former abjuration, and asking pardon for them, he had the favour done him to be made a partaker of the most holy sacraments. But, notwithstanding, because he had relapsed, he was therefore given over to the secular power, which was all that occurred in this action.

## INSCRIPTIO.

MARCUS ANTONIUS DE DOMINIS,

LATE ARCHBISHOP OF SPALATRO,

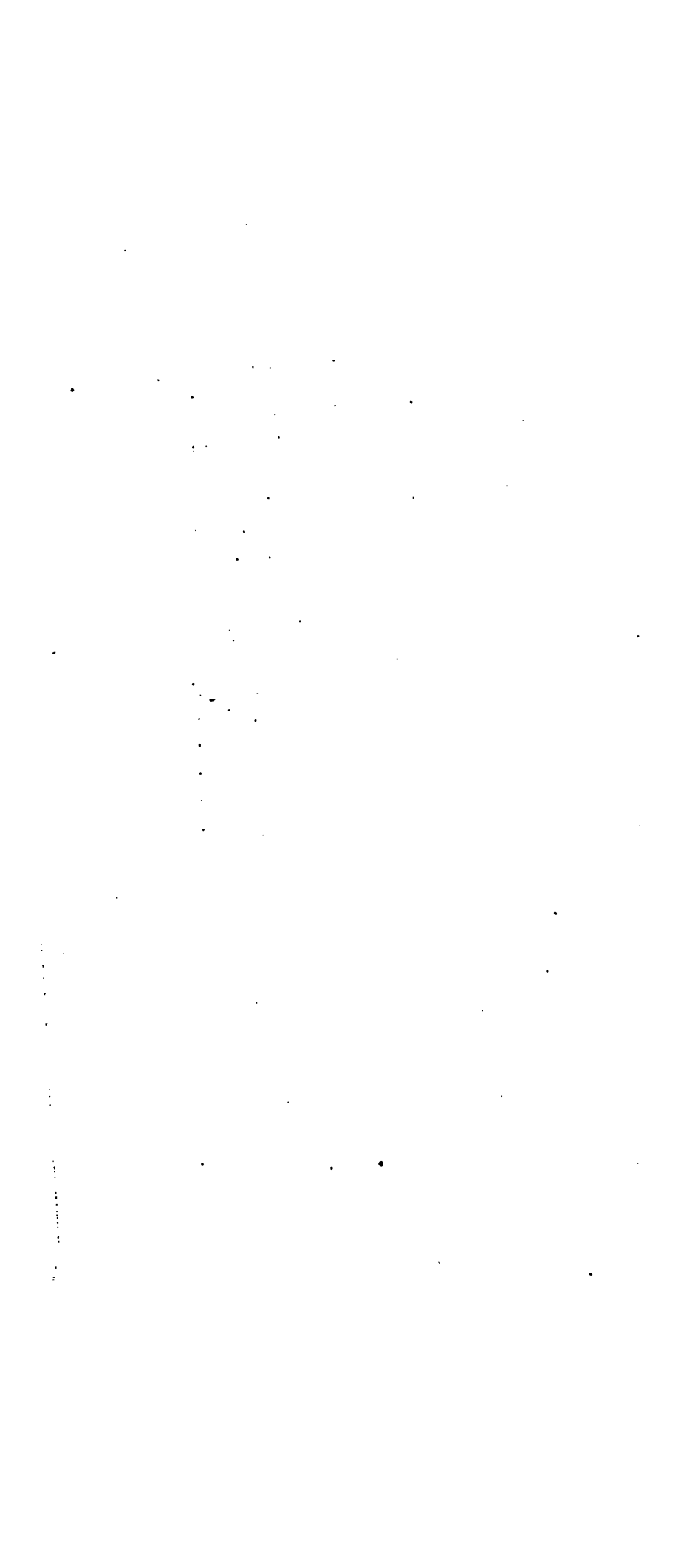
Most impiously bent his style against the Church of God, which had extraordinarily well deserved of him; having wounded her and stabbed her through, he so left her without cure, and wretchedly betook himself to the English altars, that thence the swine might the more securely gruntle against the Pope and Catholics. Returning home again, but no convert, his apostatic spirit he forsook not. He died (and the voice of a penitent man would he had not uttered) impenitent!''

It is a melancholy testimony to the unforgiving and persecuting temper of the Church of Rome to read this last exercise of vengeance which the fathers of the Inquisition exhibited on the lifeless body of the Archbishop of Spalatro. By their authority and decree his remains were presented in a public place to receive public condemnation at their hands. But before the sentence was pronounced, his kindred and relatives were summoned to be present. What a mockery of justice! what a slander upon the name of mercy! They were, forsooth, if it pleased them, to appear in his defence, to screen his name from reproach and preserve his reputation from ecclesiastical censure. Some of

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<sup>1</sup> The above and several of the rare documents in the foregoing narrative have been copied from originals in the library of the British Museum.

them came at the appointed time ; but when they heard the voice of the inquisitors proclaim the confession that they declared the Archbishop had made, all his relatives, all his friends, remained silent as the dead. They spoke not one word in vindication of his honour or his name. Not one expression of mercy, or love, or peace, or pity was heard. No one ventured even to bless his memory. None presumed to ask, according to the usage of their Church, pardon at his grave for the sins of his soul. Not one hand was stretched forth to perform the last sad office of the dead. All refused even to touch his coffin. Bigotry indulged itself to the full. Superstition revelled over his lifeless body. The officers of justice were compelled to constrain some public servants that must needs yield obedience to their authority to raise the body from the earth to bear it to the place where it was to be consumed. The Church of Rome, omnipotent in the persecution that triumphed at his tomb, as their last act of vengeance uttered the words which, we must hope, were an involuntary tribute to his character, and inscribed them on his ashes,—“He died impenitent;” that is, an unbeliever in the creed of the Church of Rome.



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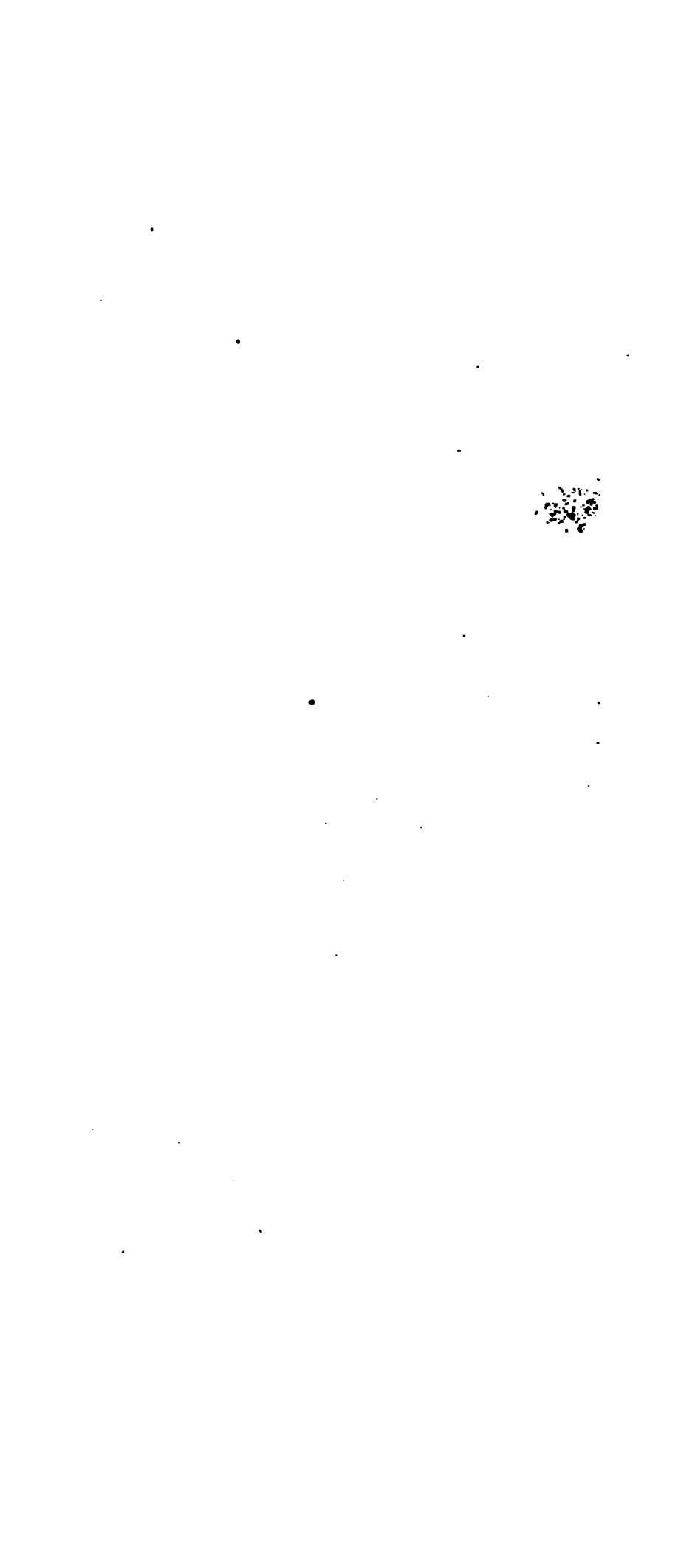
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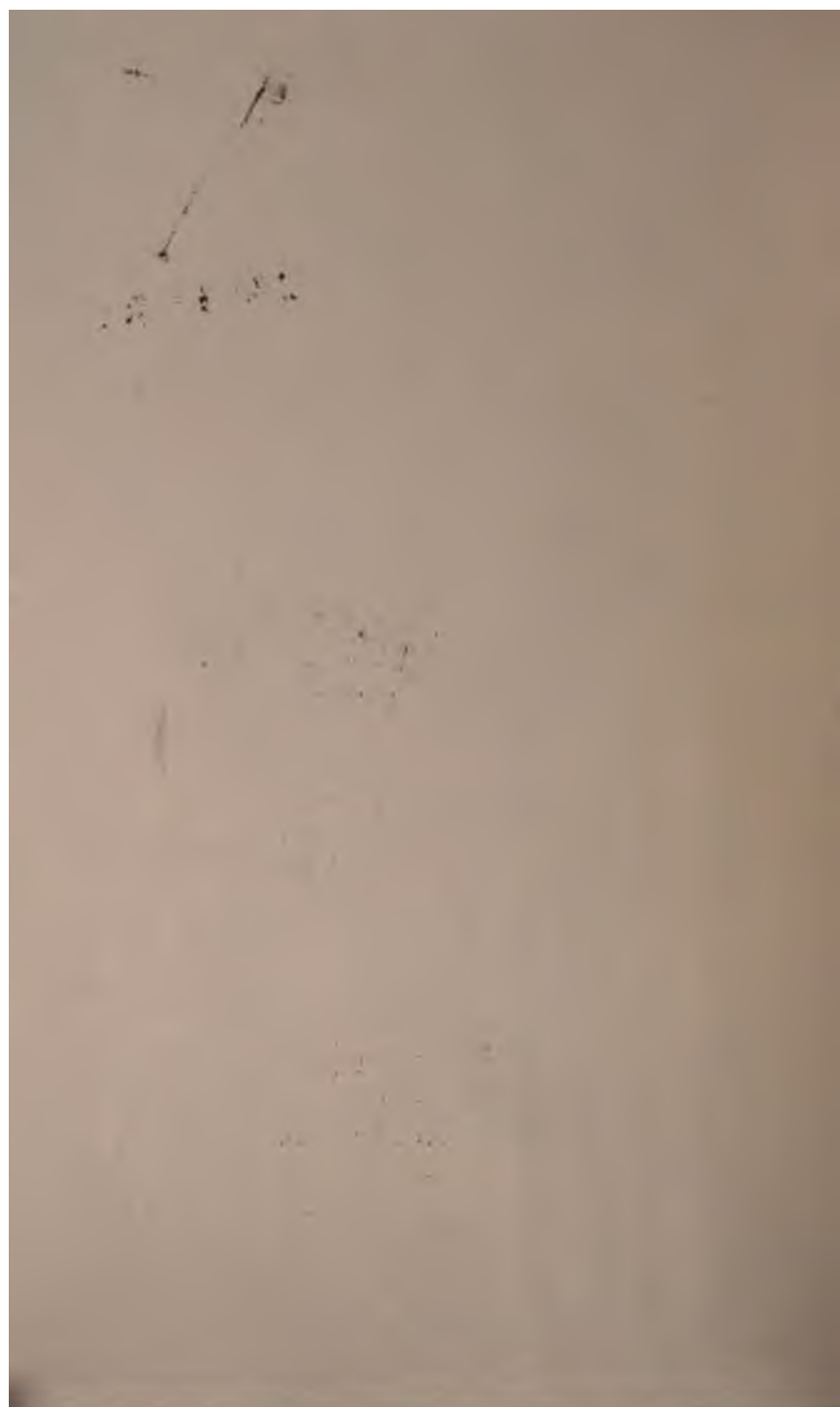
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